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FBIS-EEU-93-198 *15 October 1993*

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'Memorandum of Understanding' Signed With U.S.

AU1410201693 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 14 Oct 93

[Excerpt] A memorandum of understanding was signed today in Tirana between the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Albania and the U.S. Department of Defense. This important U.S.-Albanian document is not directed against any other third party but serves peace, security, and stability in the Balkan region. Here is our correspondent Arben Karapici for further details:

Signed previously in Washington by U.S. Defense Secretary Les Aspin, the document was signed this morning by Safet Zhulali, minister of defense. The signing ceremony was attended by top military officials from both countries, as well as the U.S. ambassador in our country, William Ryerson, and Jack Bushner, friend of Albania and official of the Republic Institute of the United States.

Following the ceremony, Mr. Safet Zhulali said that this document is the first to be signed by the United States with a former communist country of Eastern Europe. The memorandum of understanding, he said, was an important step in the military field between Albania and the United States. According to our minister of defense, the memorandum is a result of the good relations and close U.S.-Albanian cooperation. It is a result of the remarkable democratic achievements in Albania and, primarily, a result of the succesful reform in all structures of our Army. The memorandum, he added, is also a result of the patriotic devotion of all our Army personnel. The document opens the way for the further development of cooperation between our two armies in the field of education and scientific training, the exchange of experience, and U.S. assistance for our Army. Our defense minister saw in this memorandum a confirmation of the role played by Albania with its peaceful and defense policy in the Balkan region and beyond. According to Mr. Zhulali, the U.S.-Albanian memorandum is a powerful and firm support for democratic Albania. [passage omitted]

British Diplomat, Serreqi Discuss Kosovo

AU1510103093 Tirana ATA in English 0949 GMT 15 Oct 93

Tirana, October 15 (ATA)—On October 13, the Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi met with the director of the Eastern Adriatic Sector in the [British] Foreign Office, Alan Charlton.

At the beginning, Mr. Serreqi spoke of the importance now being attached to relations between Albania and Great Britain, which have recently taken a significant development.

Speaking about the situation in Kosova, Mr. Serreqi said that an ever greater Serbian repression is being exerted against the Albanians. He stressed that international presence there is indispensable.

Mr. Charlton expressed the concern showed in London about events in Albania. Testimony to this are also the visits made so far by the Secretary of State Douglas Hurd, the Minister of State in the Foreign Office, Douglas Hogg, and the visits planned for the future.

Speaking about the situation in the region, Mr. Charlton said that EC will not consider the conflict in former Yugoslavia solved in case the question of Kosova is not solved.

Cooperation Protocol Signed With Bulgaria

AU1410201293 Tirana ATA in English 0917 GMT 14 Oct 93

[Text] Tirana, October 13 (ATA)—On October 13 in Sofia, the deputy foreign minister of Albania, Arjan Starova, and his Bulgarian counterpart, Dimiter Ikonomov, signed the protocol on the exchange of instruments of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the Republic of Albania and the Republic of Bulgaria.

In the official talks between the delegations of the foreign ministries of the two countries views were expressed about the situation in the Balkan region, precisely the crisis in former Yugoslavia and the adoption of measures to prevent extension of the conflict to Kosova, Macedonia, and broader. They also expressed the constructive contribution that the two countries, Albania and Bulgaria, should render to this direction.

Further strengthening the bilateral relations which the two parties said, are and should be in the interest of both countries as well as a factor of stability in our region, were the main topics under discussion.

The Albanian delegation, headed by Mr. Starova, met with the minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Bulgaria, Stanislav Daskalov. (endall) vca21410.02 140917 vc/

Medical Cooperation Agreement Signed With Iran

AU1410201493 Tirana ATA in English 1120 GMT 14 Oct 93

[Text] Tirana, October 14 (ATA)—A delegation of the Ministry of Health headed by Tritan Shehu, minister of health, and a delegation of the Iranian Ministry of Health, led by Mr. Marandi, Iranian minister of health, have signed recently in Teheran an agreement of cooperation in the field of priority medical care. The agreement foresees visits of Albanian physicians, nurses, and students to acquire qualification in Iran and assistance for the production of vaccines and drugs.

The Albanian delegation met with first deputy president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the minister of construction and aid for foreign countries, and representatives of the Red Crescent. Iranian officials voiced readiness to help the Albanian people.

Nano Refuses To Cooperate in 'Show Trial'

AU1410165193 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 10 Oct 93 p 1

["Statement by Socialist Party Chairman and Deputy Fatos Nano" to the Tirana Investigator's Office, date not given]

[Text] In reference to your statement that you consider the investigations closed, I, as chairman of the Socialist Party [PSSh] and People's Assembly deputy, state that:

You gentlemen of the Investigator's Office do not want to see that the so-called "Nano affair" is political from start to finish.

I base my conviction that you do not want to see this fact on the views expressed by myself and my lawyers in the court session of 7 October regarding illegal and unconstitutional activities and the scandalous procedural violations committed so far by the Prosecutor's Office and the investigative body, over which neither you nor the prosecutor-general, nor the officers of the court on 7 October adopted a legal stand.

I consider as illegal and denounce as serious breaches of procedure under the Criminal Code the measures taken in connection with:

—my brutal arrest on 30 July 1993.

—the failure to complete the investigations within a period of 60 days, between 30 July and 30 September.

—the failure to communicate and explain the charges, which is a legal obligation, between 30 July and 30 September.

—the failure of the investigative body so far, as of 8 October, to submit material evidence in support of the formulated charge, on the basis of which the decision to charge and arrest me was taken.

—the refusal of the investigative body to fulfill any of my legal demands without providing any legal reason.

—the summary execution of procedural steps such as my detention as a suspect, my arrest, the submission of my case to the court, and its summary judgment within 24 hours, in order to conclude investigations within 24 hours of the verdict on my appeal against my 7 October arrest.

Therefore, on the basis of statements noted in the court records, those already published, as well as your present views, I consider your attitudes as an investigative body, as well as those of the district prosecutor and the Tirana Court (to the extent that it has been involved in the case) to be prejudiced, biased, nonobjective, and intentionally disposed not to expose the truth, in other words dictated and not concordant with the demands of the law.

I believe such prejudiced attitudes and pressures include the severe conditions of my solitary confinement, the failure to include in the investigative file all the written and tape-recorded official documents about the work of the government I headed (as I demanded on principle at one of the interrogation sessions), the noisy policy escorts to and from the court, the pressures exerted by the police, the National Intelligence Service, and the state administration against my family, and the general pressures that have gone as far as public insults by the chairman of the Tirana Court against my lawyers.

In conclusion, I do not accept the charges. I consider the investigations to have been intentionally inadequate, and for this reason, as I have stated, I do not agree, even at this stage of the investigative process, to collaborate in the illegal activities, I have denounced above.

My conclusion from constant contact with representatives of the organs of justice remains unchanged. This is a show trial whose purpose is to politically liquidate me as the leader of the opposition and a protector of the interests of ordinary, honest, and uncorrupted people. I am therefore still treated by the state as a political prisoner of conscience, increasingly and systematically persecuted.

On this occasion, I ask my lawyers to in no way and under no circumstances to collaborate in such illegal activities involving the violation of human rights and political freedoms, because it is my conviction that any signature affixed by me or by them to the documents enshrining these illegal measures represents a capitulation of the law to orders, of justice to political vengeance, and of the rule of law to the political state.

Gentlemen of the investigator's office, you are free to continue your work, and I express the hope that you will correct the breaches of procedure and the law committed so far, and will not add anymore; being answerable to no one but the demands of the law.

Article Criticizes Berisha's Human Rights Policies

AU1410164393 Lezhe KOHA JONE in Albanian 8 Oct 93 p 3

[Article by Ridvan Peshkepia: "The Berisha Way of Protecting Human Rights"]

[Text] To this very day, Sali Berisha has been trying to persuade foreign delegations that the Law on Human Rights and Freedoms is a great victory for what he calls "Albanian democracy." He does not even forget first to mention some of those people who did not hesitate to vote against it.

As one of the deputies who voted against it, but at the same time, having been for years much more interested in human rights than the dedicated secretary of the Albanian Workers Party [Berisha], I think it would be a good thing to explain a few matters.

From the start, I was convinced that this law, like Enver Hoxha's constitution, would serve as a demagogic facade, and I was convinced that violations of human rights would finally become standard practice precisely when this law was approved amid the infantile enthusiasm of the deputies of the majority, who in fact generally do not even understand what is happening in Albania.

At that time, we said that in itself this bill was legally and morally perfect, but the circumstances under which it was brought before parliament and adopted as a law were dishonest and dangerous.

It was a time when there was still a shred of hope in Albania that the country would in a short time become a member of the Council of Europe, but this required the adoption of a full constitution up to European standards. Meanwhile, the state went its own sweet way with the help of the Law on the Main Constitutional Provisions, general formulas prepared hastily and with little experience in order to save Albania from the 1976 Constitution and to forestall the approval of the Ramizian draft constitution of 1990.

It remained clear that the ruling clan would not wish to abandon its cosy rule, which the lack of laws (which it itself could make) allowed it, in favor of the problems that governing the country according to the law would raise. For this purpose, the failure to approve a constitution or the approval of a pseudo-constitution would be the ideal solution. Let us say that tacking on a section about human rights to the Law on the Main Constitutional Provisions might deceive Europeans that Albania does in fact have a constitution. At least in words, it would give the appearance of a government wild about human rights and freedoms.

In our statements then, we predicted that the approval of this law would leave Albania without a constitution and that there would be no chance of the constitution arriving in June, September, or ever. Albania today, because of the lack of a constitution and of those human rights and freedoms that this law so cynically proclaims, is as distant from the Council of Europe as it was in 1990. Like the mother party that has remained outside the European Democratic Union because it will not officially recognize the Democratic Alliance's parliamentary group as a team with full rights in the People's Assembly, so the government is ready to leave Albania outside the Council of Europe in order not to get mixed up on these fiendish problems of the constitution.

Nevertheless, things happened as they did. The bill came before parliament. Zef Brozi was provided with a return ticket from Paris, where he was eagerly pursuing a law course. Skender Gjinushi was given time to finish his meeting at Bulgize, and his return was systematically followed by the radio like that of Ismail Qemali. The two deputies of the Union for Human Rights were to be placated with a symbolic victory in the article covering education in their language.

The commander directing from the Presidential box the parliamentary operation for the approval of the law was very pleased that his obedient infantrymen not only did not understand what was happening, but did not even make any effort to do so. The next day, all Albania and the world would know how much he cared for human rights.

I do not recall the order here, but among those who best understood this was a young lad in Lac, slaughtered by the police; then Idajet Bequiri, then the cropped-headed Fatos Nano; then Panajot Zoto, who trod on Genc Ruli's corns; then the Italian journalist who squealed about that business of bombing Belgrade; and among them was my friend Ilir Keko who mentioned that business of what daddy had said about Kuwait. [reference to journalist Ilir Keko, detained after reporting Berisha's alleged statement in Kuwait that his father had taught him to love Kuwait in his infancy, before Kuwait existed as a state]

The two perhaps most tragic victims of this event, the deputies Mico and Makarjadhi, had to wait until September to realize that they had voted for the reduction and not the expansion of their educational rights.

At all his meetings at home and abroad, the former secretary of the Albanian Workers Party makes efforts to persuade people that he is determined to enforce to the limit the law and his system of human rights and freedoms.

Come on! Whose turn is Next?

Journalists Oppose Proposed Press Law

AU1410165393 Lezhe KOHA JONE in Albanian 5 Oct 93 p 3

[Article by Arta Marku: "Our Discussion—The Press Bill"]

[Text] The existence of a press law as a problem set for a solution, in all its absurdity, does not deserve much attention.

Conceived as a fetter that, amazingly, is being formed in this time of "democracy," it is currently alarming journalists and other newspaper staff in general. As it is still a bill, there remains at the same time the hope that it will be lost in oblivion and will never assume the shape of a law.

Journalists here give their opinions independently of one another, but unite in the conclusion that what they want is status and what they want from the state is protection. If the state and government do not accept this, there is nothing more to say but that this law is necessary for those who want to hide behind it.

What else can the press law be other than an absurdity?

In order to show the public the interest that this law has aroused, we talked to some newspaper editors.

B. Trenova, RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE

A press law is necessary, but it must not be seen as a new form of censorship or a way of leveling out the press, so that they assume a similar appearance to that of the past.

Of course, every newspaper has its own character that cannot be violated. I do not think that a press law affects this area.

Democracy is not anarchy or licentiousness. In our field of the press, it is impossible for everybody to do as he wants. I have reached this opinion because in today's press there are many untruths, insinuations, insults, and personal or more extended calumnies. The purpose of the press law is to discipline this irregular trend, which is after all not a characteristic of a genuinely democratic press with journalistic ethics.

L. Rama, ZERI I POPULLIT

The contents of the bill "On the Press," submitted to the People's Assembly a few days ago by some deputies who are scared of publishing their names, are not unexpected. The Democratic Party's parliamentary group has demonstrated once again that it is not really in favor of democracy, press freedom, and free speech. As a result, these wretched and intellectually impoverished people who have had the "courage" to submit this law which intends to imprison the fourth estate, must be immediately removed from parliament.

On the other hand, journalists, who are now under a greater threat than ever, have an opportunity to show how, when this invaluable victory of press freedom is under threat, they are able to unite, regardless of which newspaper they work for, especially when the parliamentary majority have still not raised their voting cards; thereafter, it will be too late.

B. Fevziu, ALEANCA

The press law has been discussed and different views have been expressed in the press. I am thinking here of GAZETA SHQIPTARE and 24 ORE. What seems to me the essential thing is not the problem of the sanctions that the law imposes on journalists, which have anyway been exaggerated, but that this law does not define the rights of a journalist and his status. That is, it has been conceived solely as a kind of law to impose sanctions on the press, and not to define its rights. Nor does it define the duties that the state would have, the institutions to issue information and the persons appointed for this purpose, what the rights there are to information, and where information is to be restricted.

Conceived solely in terms of sanctions, this law will undoubtedly merely smother the press.

M. Leka, KOHA JONE

First, I think that the manuscript of the press bill must include many spelling mistakes.

Second, I am convinced that President Berisha will never sign this bill. It is not in the interest either of himself or the state that he leads to imprison and assault Albania's journalists.

Finally, if this bill is approved in its present form, the pages of our newspapers will be filled with reports beginning and ending with cliches: "...all these successes, all these joys, all this happiness and this prosperity have been achieved thanks to the farsighted leadership of the party (the ruling party, whichever it might be) and Comrade or Mr..."

M. Baze, chairman of the Albanian Journalists' League

For me, this law's main defect is the right that it gives the state to restrict information to journalists.

Article Four of this law gives the most ordinary Albanian official the right to close the door on every journalist. In the first paragraph, it states that the state is obliged to give information to journalists, so that they may perform their public duty. The following four paragraphs include the most ambiguous restrictions entirely preventing the giving of information.

By blocking the main source of information, our press is deprived of the opportunity to continue its new trend toward information. This law poses the danger of turning the press into a propaganda machine. As a result, there is a danger of journalists erring, which will lead to the enforcement of Article 21.

F. Myrtaj, ATA

I am not satisfied, if freedom of the press is merely to be for parliamentary deputies. I favor a press law, but this bill has been drawn up by deputies who do not know about journalism and are therefore not aware of the value of its freedom.

We hope that parliament will this time feel it necessary to sound the free opinions of journalists. I would like the law to ensure that when I, as a journalist, knock on the door of a state official, he will be obliged to give information. Meanwhile, I want journalists to be responsible for what they write.

Y. Rakipi, REPUBLIKA

I think that there should be a press law, for these reason:

First, we have in general suffered from an absence of laws, and I am not thinking only of newspapers. We in Albania have always worked according to directives and administrative orders. As everywhere, a law is necessary to cover newspapers too. Even in the United States, there are legal dispositions that cover more than a press law. Newspaper publishers are often fined considerable sums under these legal dispositions.

In other Western states too, the law on the press involves sanctions. This is a warning for us journalists. It means that we should be careful.

I do not favor the direct adoption of a law, as has been done, with a simple translation of the German law. I favor a real law within which our characteristics and the peculiarities of the time that we are passing through will have a place.

However there must inevitably be a press law, especially now that a large section of the Albanian press no morals.

I. Zhupa, PO

Without a doubt, this bill on the press strikes us journalists as absurd. However, more than an absurdity devised by ignorant people, I think it represents a conscious and fully intentional retreat on the part of those who drafted it. Amid the propaganda about freedom of speech and the press bill, it seems there is a contradiction apparent to every normal person. I do not understand how a group of deputies claiming to be struggling to establish a democratic system in Albania can arrive at such absurdities. No black-market businessmen is fined to the tune of 8 million old leks [800,000 leks], as is proposed for journalists. I think that this bill has been devised by those who drafted it as a trick to blockade not the press as a whole, because neither ZERI I POPULLIT nor RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE can be blockaded, but to obstruct the independent press, which is apparently viewed by our rulers with a great deal of suspicion and hostility. The state should first have thought of defining journalists' status.

E. Birko, KOMBI

Certain political forces, particularly those in power, talk a lot about the press in Albania being very free, at a time when the number of convicted, accused, and physically assaulted journalists is rising at a geometric rate. As far as I know, the press bill has been waiting for a long time for parliamentary approval, but still has not been approved. Now we see a "laudable" haste to approve it as soon as possible. This is a warning of fresh commotion among the ranks of opposition journalists, and those often labeled as Dr. Berisha's political opponents.

If the press law is approved today, it will be used as a means to continue liquidating the present regime's political opponents.

Zhelev Office Statement on New U.S. Ambassador

AU1410121993 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 14 Oct 93

[Text] After receiving extensive information on the recent debates at the U.S. Senate Foreign Affairs Commission in connection with the appointment of Mr. William Montgomery to the post of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in the Republic of Bulgaria and referring to the statement of the U.S. Embassy in Sofia of 11 October 1993, the president's press center is authorized to issue the following announcement:

The Republic of Bulgaria is an independent state. It is the sovereign right of the Bulgarian people to amend its Constitution through the vote of its legally elected representatives in parliament. It is inadmissible under any form whatsoever to exert external pressure in connection with the amendment of the country's Constitution.

In the course of its democratization the Republic of Bulgaria has proved that it is perfectly capable of independently and successfully resolving its ethnic problems. Against the background of the current Balkan crisis our state's internal stability and its policy of good-neighborly relations are highly appreciated by the international public, which also applies to the United States.

President Zhelyu Zhelev is convinced that, as in the past, the friendly relations between the Republic of Bulgaria and the United States of America will continue their successful development on the basis of equal rights and in the interests of the two peoples.

Daskalov Comments

AU1410120593 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 14 Oct 93

[Text] Minister of Foreign Affairs Stanislav Daskalov, in a briefing for journalists at the Council of Ministers today, declared that William Montgomery, the future U.S. Ambassador to Bulgaria, in answering questions before the U.S. Senate Foreign Affairs Commission, really said that he would like some amendments made to the Bulgarian Constitution.

The minister announced that the stenographic records of Montgomery's full statement were received at the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry today and will be disseminated by the press center.

According to Minister Daskalov, the ambassador's words should not be taken out of his total statement, which contains a very high appreciation for the democratic developments in Bulgaria, for the respect of human rights, and the observance of the UN embargo.

Nevertheless, remarks such as the aforementioned are indelicate, to put it mildly, our minister of foreign affairs said. He further pointed out his intention of discussing the question with Mr. Montgomery after his arrival in Bulgaria.

DUMA Criticizes Ambassador

AU1310205393 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 8 Oct 93 p 8

[Article by Krasimir Tomov: "Bulgaria Does Not Want To Become Bosnia, Your Excellency!"]

[Text] From the dailies THE WASHINGTON TIMES and WASHINGTON POST we learned details on the statements of the newly appointed U.S. Ambassador to Bulgaria William Montgomery before the Senate Commission on Foreign Affairs. We are grateful to Mr. Montgomery for having enlightened the great men on Capitol Hill about Bulgaria's consistent and purposeful transition to democracy and also about the difficulties with which our country must cope as a result of the embargo in the Middle East and former Yugoslavia.

Ambassador Montgomery knows quite a lot about Bulgaria. A few years ago he worked for the U.S. Embassy in Sofia, in a post that presupposes an enviable amount of inside knowledge. It is precisely for this reason that there is something strange about the ambassador's statement on his intentions to "work with the members of parliament on the amendment of that particular part of the Constitution (meaning the Bulgarian Constitution—Duma's editorial note) that bans the establishment of parties on ethnic and religious principles."

Let us not mention the lack of simple diplomatic tact. Imagine what would happen if our ambassador Ognyan Pishev declared his intention to work on an amendment of the American Constitution in Washington, rather than for the consolidation of bilateral relations. They would simply throw him out for interference into the domestic affairs of the United States, and they would be justified in doing so.

Nevertheless, Mr. Montgomery goes even further. He is concerned about the situation being likely to create difficulties for the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] in future elections, as well as preventing the establishment of a Macedonian party. By canceling with one stroke the efforts of the DPS, which for the last three years has been trying to convince the Bulgarian public that it is neither a religious nor an ethnic party, His Excellency is doing a rather dubious service for Dogan. As far as the question of establishing a "Macedonian party" is concerned, Ambassador Montgomery's views are really amazing. Even if we allow that a people can turn into a different nation after 40 to 50 years as a state, this would by no means apply to the Bulgarians of Pirin Macedonia. We already mentioned that the new ambassador is well informed on Bulgarian affairs since he held his former position. Nevertheless, he was speaking as an official representative of the United States to Bulgaria before the Senate Commission. Under such circumstances, how could we not ask ourselves (as some people have been asking themselves for a long time), why the American University was established in Blagoevgrad of all places, rather than in Veliko Turnovo, or Pleven?

We should also ask ourselves what benefit the United States could possibly expect from Bulgaria turning into a kind of new Bosnia?

Bulgaria does not wish to become Bosnia, Your Excellency. The Bulgarian Constitution is Bulgaria's own business.

Do not try to imitate Luchezar Toshev, [Bulgarian deputy to the European Council Assembly who recently questioned the legality of the new Bulgarian Constitution] Mr. Ambassador. He is our own native product, while you have been appointed by the administration of a great democratic power.

Press Comments

AU1510113493 Sofia BTA in English 0947 GMT 15 Oct 93

[From BTA's 15 October "Press Review"]

[Excerpt] Sofia, October 15 (BTA)—Today's press comments extensively on the "Montgomery case." Under the headline "We Would Like To See Some Changes in Bulgaria's Constitution," 24 CHASA carries the full record of William Montgomery's statement at his confirmation hearing before the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee on September 28. The authenticity of the record was challenged by Mr. John Kunstadter, first secretary at the U.S. Embassy in Sofia, the socialist DUMA daily writes. "Montgomery's Words Manipulated," caps a story in DEMOKRATSIYA, the daily of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS). The daily quotes Foreign Minister Stanislav Daskalov as saying that Mr. Montgomery's words should not be taken out of their context. It also runs the opinion of the U.S. Congress Helsinki Committee that the Bulgarian Constitution has some weak points.

In a signed commentary headlined "United States of Bulgaria," STANDART NEWS criticizes Bulgarian politicians for their delayed reaction to the statement of William Montgomery. "The Bulgarian taxpayer cannot pay for diplomats, MP's, ministers and president's men and not know the opinion of its present big brother. Because it is an opinion that makes you lose all desire for new relatives and powerful friends," STANDART NEWS writes. "It is hardly necessary to ask the state department why, given there are more Poles in the United States than in Poland and more Jews than in Tel Aviv, they have no parties of their own?" the author writes. The Montgomery blunder is a test for Bulgarian politicians, according to the private REPORTER 7 weekly. An ambassador should share his personal opinion in the bedroom and not before the Senate committee.

TRUD views the statement of Mr. William Montgomery in the context of the situation on the Balkans. "America will take over the cause of the Stalin-Tito-Dimitrov Communist Triumvirate," Nikola Kitsevski writes in the trade union TRUD. According to the author, the words of the newly appointed U.S. ambassador that he would work for forming parties on an ethnic basis are symptomatic of the policy the United States will adopt after the disintegration of Yugoslavia. The State Department intends to take care of the Macedonian nation which the Comintern left orphan, the author says later on.

"Institutions Interpret Montgomery," (PODKREPA), "It Would Be Best If New Big Brother Never Sends Montgomery," (ZEMYA), "More on the Montgomery Case: President and Foreign Minister Take Stand at Last," (OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK) are other samples of headlines capping the same issue in today's press. [passage omitted]

Berov Answers Questions in National Assembly

AU1510113093 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 15 Oct 93

[Text] Today's session of the National Assembly was devoted to parliamentary control. Prime Minister Lyuben Berov and the ministers of internal affairs, environment, and foreign affairs answered Assembly members' questions. Mariya Tsenkova reports:

[Tsenkova] The fate of the liquidation councils, the governmental policy vis-a-vis the Bessarabian Bulgarians, the ability of Bulgarian goods to compete on foreign markets, and the participation of deputy ministers on the Boards of Managers were issues that Prime Minister Lyuben Berov focused on in his responses to Assembly members.

With bitter emotions, Environment Minister Valentin Bosevski provided data on the situation of environmental protection and appealed to the deputies to devote if not one week then at least one day to studying the documents related to the ecological draft bills that they will be debating.

National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov expressed his hope that the Assembly members will follow the advice.

Minister Stanislav Daskalov spoke about the policy of appointing ambassadors and the conflict in our embassy in Canada.

Internal Affairs Minister Viktor Mikhaylov answered a question related to the stay of foreigners in Bulgaria.

After the recess, the deputies will discuss the composition of the National Assembly Commission on the Defense Industry.

Videnov Interviewed on Austria, Slovakia Visit

AU1410131393 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 8 Oct 93 p 3

[Interview with Zhan Videnov, chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party's Supreme Council, by Valentin Georgiev; place and date not given: "The Bulgarian Socialist Party Is Invited To Attend the Forums of the Socialist International"]

[Text] [Georgiev] How was the delegation of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] received in Austria and Slovakia? Can you describe your general impressions?

[Videnov] I had many interesting meetings. Relations between European left-wing parties—both members and non-members of the Socialist International—and joint action to build confidence and improve the chances of the left-wing alternative all over the world were the subjects of our talks. In both countries the attitude toward the BSP was definitely positive.

[Georgiev] Did you feel a change in the approach to the party after Dr. Dertliev's recent attempts to prevent BSP access to the Socialist International?

[Videnov] The Austrian Socialist Party has its own experience and manifests its permanent interest in the development of left-wing forces in Eastern Europe. Its leaders, especially Chancellor Vranitzky and Parliamentary Chairman Heinz Fischer, are among the most consistent supporters of left-wing unity in Eastern and Western Europe. They are familiar with the existing conflicts between individual left-wing forces in Eastern European countries, and particularly in Bulgaria, regarding them as surmountable in the near future. Even more: On the basis of their own prestige and influence they are striving to create favorable conditions for the unification of, rather than confrontation between, left-wing forces.

We must point out that the constant warnings of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP] as regards our Socialist International membership have been dismissed as outdated and insignificant. Even without raising the question of access or expulsion from any organization whatsoever, we must bear in mind that an unmistakable trend toward the creation of vast opportunities for cooperation, confidence building, and clarification of future prospects is emerging.

[Georgiev] Would you outline some specific examples of such future cooperation in sight?

[Videnov] As chairman of the European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity under the Socialist International, Dr. Heinz confirmed the invitation in principle for the BSP to participate in the forum's future initiatives. Meetings are scheduled to take place within a few days in Budapest, and in Ljubljana in November 1993. The Slovak Social Democrats, whose party is a member of the Socialist International, exchanged some very valuable ideas with us related to the opportunities for cooperation with the political parties that succeeded the former ruling Communist Parties in Eastern Europe. In Slovakia this cooperation is producing very good results and is likely to become a basic factor of political life in the near future. A meeting on agrarian problems is scheduled to take place in Slovakia with the participation of numerous social democratic and left-wing parties from Eastern Europe, which we are also going to attend with a high-level delegation.

[Georgiev] How did the BSP leader react to the recent events in Moscow? It is a well known fact that the BSP expressed its view in the form of a declaration, but at the same time certain right-wing forces in Bulgaria took advantage of the opportunity to attack the Socialists and even once more declaring their wish to ban the BSP?

[Videnov] I was deeply shaken by the explosion of violence in Moscow, which caused the loss of hundreds of human lives. Peaceful civilians, policemen, journalists, and politicians were killed. No one gained from this. It was a loss for democracy. It is a tragedy for Russia, for Europe, and for the world. I think that a united Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals will remain just a beautiful dream for a long time to come. Countries such as Bulgaria should devote all their efforts to avoid being involved in a new wave of crisis—never mind whether it is an iron curtain, or a sanitary cordon. The power struggle has been going on for the last two years in Russia and an one-man dictatorship was inevitable. I think that this will transform Russia from a symbol of the changes in Eastern Europe into a focus for instability and political backwardness. This should serve as an exceptionally important lesson for us, namely a warning that we should not transform the sphere of political changes into an arena of power struggles, but rather into a zone of building a national consensus. Every one of us should keep this in mind. We decided to do so nearly four years ago. As far as threats are concerned, let me tell you that some political forces in Bulgaria are actually suffering from the "infantile diseases of communism." They are dreaming of world revolution only, without realizing that they have no ground under their feet. I am sure that they are likely to collapse at the first obstacle they encounter along their path. Bulgaria is not susceptible to the impact of events in any capital of the world whatsoever, because our country is not the protectorate of any other power. We learned this lesson from our own experience and we shall never permit anyone else to learn it at our Bulgaria's expense.

Arab Ambassadors Apologize for Driver Incident

AU1310190393 Sofia BTA in English 2217 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Sofia, October 12 (BTA)—"We express our most sincere condolences to the victim's family and friends. We condemn crime in general no matter what its source may be. We confirm that Bulgaria's fair judiciary is the responsible instance in this case," it is said in a declaration issued on behalf of the Arab states' ambassadors accredited to Bulgaria which was read on the National Television this evening. The declaration was made in connection with the assassination of a 47-year-old taxi driver in Sofia last week. He was killed by Syrian citizens. There have been taxi drivers' protests staged over the last days.

The declaration, which is signed by the ambassadors of Syria, Egypt, Kuwait, Lebanon, Palestine, Libya, Algeria, Morocco and Yemen, stresses that the relations

existing between the Arab states and Bulgaria are strong and stable, they are further advanced and cannot be influenced by isolated incidents irrespective of who they may be provoked by.

The Arab embassies emphasize the positive role which thousands of Bulgarian specialists play in a number of Arab countries and the equally positive role which the Arab investors residing in Bulgaria play.

* * *

Today the leadership of the Sofia Directorate of the Interior had a meeting with representatives of the seven largest firms providing taxi services in the capital, the directorate informed. Measures were mapped out to ensure the security of taxi drivers and improve their relations with the police in combating crime and maintaining public order. The meeting was prompted by the tension created among taxi drivers when a taxi driver was killed by a Syrian citizen last week. The assassins have been tracked down and they will be punished with all stringency of the law, the Directorate leadership said.

As an act of protest, the victim's colleagues presented a petition to the Bulgarian Parliament insisting that the moratorium on executions be lifted. According to today's statement of the president of the company which the assassinated taxi driver worked for, if the state institutions do not take measures to ensure the safety of taxi drivers, the thoroughfares in Sofia will be blocked. Taxi drivers insist on being allowed to carry weapons and to immediately extradite all foreigners residing illegally in Bulgaria.

Westinghouse Director Views Nuclear Plant Safety

AU1410160493 Sofia BTA in English 1356 GMT 14 Oct 93

[Text] Sofia, October 14 (BTA)—I would never describe any of the three types of nuclear reactors of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant as the most dangerous in Europe, Mr. Raymond Serot, Westinghouse director general for nuclear programmes, says in an interview in today's TRUD, the trade union daily.

According to Mr. Serot, the 1,000-MW reactors five and six of the Kozloduy Plant meet most Western standards and safety requirements to a great extent. In his view, with certain improvements they could meet world standards and requirements. Westinghouse experts have drawn up a plan for the upgrading of the 440-MW reactors three and four, for which 10 million dollars will be needed, according to Mr. Serot. The oldest reactors one and two need substantial changes to reach the safety level of the other reactors but I would never describe them as the most dangerous in Europe either, Mr. Serot says.

He points out that operators of the old 600-MW Westinghouse reactors have 40 minutes to act in an emergency. Operators of Bulgarian reactors have three hours under similar circumstances, Mr. Serot says.

The first Westinghouse project in Bulgaria is a plant for the processing of low radioactive waste, such as protective clothing and material from the plant. The entire equipment has been made and tested in the United States, Mr. Serot says. It has been shipped to Amsterdam and is about to be transported to Bulgaria. The construction of the building is in progress. Initially, the plant was expected to go into operation by year's end. According to Mr. Serot, the processing of low radioactive waste will start in the first quarter of 1994.

During his visit to Bulgaria, Mr. Serot signed cooperation agreements with Energoproekt and the National Electricity Company. The agreement with Energoproekt envisages cooperation in Bulgaria as well as in Eastern Europe and with nonnuclear power stations. By year's end Bulgarian experts will take part in projects for central and Eastern Europe. The agreement with the National Electricity Company envisages joint inspections of reactors. The inspection of the metal frame of reactors is based on a Westinghouse technology.

Klaus Agrees With UK Conservative Party's Views

LD1210211593 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1715 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Vaclav Musilek and Katerina Kasparova; place and date not given: "A Meeting with the Prime Minister of the Czech Government"—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Musilek] The British Conservative Party conference was held in Blackpool last weekend. It emphasized that the majority of Tories are in favor of enlarging the EC and also that they consider trade with the countries of Eastern and Central Europe as something much more effective than financial aid. What kind of concrete conclusions concerning our relations with Britain would you make on the strength of these and other points made at the Tory party conference? After all, they are the ruling party in Britain.

[Klaus] We have seen time and time again that the British Conservative Party is a party that is the closest to us. This is reflected at gatherings such as their recent conference, but also at sessions of the Council of Europe. For example, it has been reflected in the recent important speech on Europe by John Major. I have a feeling that in the context of European opinions these views are the nearest to ours. I respect such views and am pleased to hear them.

The theme you mentioned [financial aid to Eastern and Central European countries] will be the dominant theme of my forthcoming trip to the United States, Guatemala, and Mexico. I am going to make a number of speeches and one of them, at the so-called Bretton Woods Committee in Washington on Friday morning, will deal with the purpose, role, and importance of external aid in transforming the post-communist countries. What I am going to say comes very close to what the English Conservatives have said. [passage omitted]

Klaus Admits 'Dirty Money' Used in Privatization

AU1310105193 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 8 Oct 93 p 2

[Report by "(km)": "Dirty Money Is a Problem, Klaus Admits"]

[Text] Prague—Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus admitted yesterday that money laundering is a growing problem in the privatization process.

At the same time he stressed that there is no one in the Czech Republic who can give the figures. "If anyone knew the figures, it would be very irresponsible of them not to tell the rest of us," he said.

The prime minister also vehemently denied that he said he was unable to distinguish dirty money from clean. "I have never said anything of the kind. It is a lie. I have shown a thousand times that this statement about me is not true," he said.

According to a CTK report issued on 27 September 1991, Vaclav Klaus, who was federal finance minister at the time, said: "I do not know any method that can be used to distinguish dirty money from clean. Such a method would call privatization into question."

Justice Minister Jiri Novak called for a fight against dirty money several months ago. Jan Sula, director of the Service for the Protection of Economic Interests, supported him. The law should be amended so as to prevent dirty money from being laundered. According to unofficial statistics, there is some $25,000,000 in the Czech Republic that is believed to be dirty money. Money that has not been taxed is considered dirty. Most of this comes from prostitution, drug trafficking, and, to a lesser extent, from theft, fraud, and other criminal activities.

Havel on Vienna Meeting With Slovakia's Meciar

AU1310120993 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 11 Oct 93 p 6

[TA SR report: "Unofficial Meeting"]

[Text] Prague—At a news conference following his return from the Council of Europe summit, Czech President Vaclav Havel characterized his Vienna meeting with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar as unofficial and friendly. He said that Vladimir Meciar liked the president's address at the summit and that he also explained to him his statement about the Czech Republic owing the Slovak Republic 8 billion Swiss francs. According to the Slovak prime minister, the media had distorted his statement. At the news conference, Vaclav Havel also analyzed his attitude toward ethnic minorities. He stated, among other things, that the more democracy there is, and the better it works, the less tense the problem of minorities becomes. Vaclav Havel accepts such a perception of human rights as would be acceptable to both the majority of the population and the minorities.

Baudys Comments on Speech by President Havel

AU1410142993 Prague CTK in English 1633 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Prague, Oct 12 (CTK)—This is nothing new, Czech Defense Minister Antonin Baudys commented on a speech delivered today by Czech President Vaclav Havel before the parliament.

He himself has been pushing for the Czech Republic's joining NATO since he took up his post, Baudys added.

He said he could not comment on either the form or the details of Havel's speech, as he had not been consulted about them, Baudys stated.

From the Czech Republic's standpoint, the statement is important that we want to participate in pan-European security, the basis of which we see in NATO. That implies our orientation towards NATO. The other thing is the timing of joining NATO, and the third thing is the will of all NATO member countries, Baudys stated.

However, recent opinions showed that NATO was established to serve other goals than those necessitated by present situation, and that its structure is likely to be reconsidered, Baudys stressed.

The Czech Republic's joining NATO can be a question of a few years, and will depend not only on European countries' will, but on political and economic developments in the Czech Republic as well, Baudys said. There is no reason to comment on the question of what the pace of Czech integration into NATO will be, he concluded.

Parliamentary Deputies Respond

AU1410142793 Prague CTK in English 1704 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Prague, Oct 12 (CTK)—Czech President Vaclav Havel's speech at the opening of the 13th session of parliament, which concerned not only citizens of the Czech Republic but was also addressed to Europe and the world, should have been conveyed to parliament at least as to its content before being given, said Jaroslav Ortman, chairman of the Left Bloc deputies' club, after the speech.

Ortman also reiterated the position of his club, which is opposed to the incorporation of the Czech Republic into any kind of military grouping, whatever it is called. He also proposed that this question not be resolved by parliament, but rather that citizens should vote on it in a referendum.

As an alternative solution to the security situation in Europe, Ortman proposed the neutrality of the Czech Republic, guaranteed by the superpowers.

Left Bloc deputy Vlastislav Kuchar said he heard Havel's speech with mixed emotions because he does not think that the Czech Republic's admittance into NATO is a question of cardinal importance for us today. Kuchar said he expected Havel to express his opinion on the problem of fulfilling the constitution as regards territorial administrative division.

Liberal Social Union (LSU) deputy Pavel Hirs said that Havel's speech was very well thought-out and well-balanced, and that the Czech Republic's prospects were connected with this collective grouping NATO. This also gives NATO the chance to create a stable Europe, Hirs said.

Jan Krycer, deputy for the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy of Moravia and Silesia (HSMDS), said that from the standpoint of the parliamentary foreign committee, Havel's speech was expected because pressure to bring about an improvement in the compatibility of the armies, which means moving closer to the North Atlantic Pact had been evident for a long time. The other side of this problem, Krycer said, was the question of the budget and its increase in the favor of the Defense Ministry. We have no reason not to support this, Krycer said.

Dlouhy Dismisses Possibility of Price Regulation

AU1310071793 Prague CTK in English 2054 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Text] Hradec Kralove, east Bohemia, Oct 9 (CTK)—The Czech Government has not lost control of inflation, Trade and Industry Minister Vladimir Dlouhy said today and dismissed considerations about greater price regulation because this would be a step back.

Standard and time-tested macroeconomic instruments can be applied to control inflation, just as in the past three years. Another tools are monetary policy and a more marked restriction if necessary, Dlouhy said at a press conference of the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) of which he is a member.

He also recalled that a government-imposed wage regulation had been applied since July 1.

Consumer prices, which are the indicator of inflation, rose by 1.4 percent in September compared with August, according to preliminary data released by the Czech Statistical Office (CSU) on Friday [8 October].

The month-on-month inflation rate of 1.4 percent is high and I can say that we just cannot afford it... If the trend continues, the government will be forced to take very hard and very unpopular measures, Czech Economy Minister Karel Dyba (Civic Democratic Party, ODS), said on Thursday [7 October]. He did not specify the measures.

Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik said on Friday that he believed this was only a seasonal fluctuation which had been registered last year as well and which had been taken into consideration in estimates of the yearly fluctuations of price indices. But he allowed for the possibility that the overall price increase in 1993 might slightly exceed the envisaged 20 percent rate.

Inflation Reaches 1.4 Percent in September

AU1210175493 Prague CTK in English 1949 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] Prague, Oct 8 (CTK)—The rate of inflation was 1.4 percent in September, according to preliminary data from the Czech Statistical Office (CSU) released today.

The price of foodstuffs grew 3.3 percent, the price of services increased 0.8 percent, and the prices of non-alimentary goods and public catering increased 0.7 percent, Jarmila Lehnerova, from the CSU told CTK today.

In July and August the rate of inflation reached a total of 0.7 percent, while in the previous months the rate had been at 0.5 percent. The inflation rate for September was a 20.9 percent increase over the rate for the same period

in 1992. For the first three quarters of this year, inflation has been running, on average, 21.2 percent higher than last year.

Czech economics minister Karel Dyba told today's issue of the daily "MLADA FRONTA DNES" that, a mid-month rate of inflation of 1.4 percent is high and we simply can't allow this.

This was only an irregular fluctuation of the inflation rate due to the drastic increase in the price of meat. If this trend were to continue, the government would be forced to take severe and unpopular measures, he added.

The current development of inflation could effect the inflationary trend for the year, which is now estimated as less than 20 percent. Dyba said he felt that even a mid-month rate of around 0.7 percent for the next period is absolutely unacceptable. In spite of these developments, the government still intends to fulfill its pledge to keep the inflation rate for next year under ten percent.

Foreign Investors Buy $1.4 Billion of Assets

LD1410095993 Prague CTK in English 0934 GMT 14 Oct 93

[Text] Prague, Oct 14 (CTK)—Assets worth 40 billion crowns about 1.4 billion USD) were sold to foreign investors in the Czech Republic in the framework of privatisation by the end of June this year, Tomas Polak form the Privatisation Ministry said last night.

Twenty-three billion of that figure was actual businesses themselves, and the remainder was shares in firms, he added.

Polak was speaking at the international forum on privatisation and investment in Central and Eastern Europe which began October 11.

Polak said that foreign investors have submitted 292 projects for privatisation so far, 108 of which the government has already approved. Another 71 have also been refused.

The ratio of businesses and shares sold to foreigners is close to opposite of that acquired by domestic investors. Polak informed the audience that the ministry placed emphasis on a business being selected for sale with all of its obligations, as well as its price, and ecological factors of new production plans.

In conclusion, he pointed out that those businesses which would not be privatised for five years were not attractive to foreign investors.

Moravcik Wants Party Profiles Before Elections

AU1410130993 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 9 Oct 93 p 2

[TA SR report: "A Responsible Image of Slovakia"]

[Text] Bratislava—"Slovakia is viewed abroad as a reliable, responsible partner. It is important for us to maintain this image and to clarify any ambiguities that arise in the assessment of our domestic policy," said Slovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik in an interview granted to Slovak Radio's Radiozurnal program yesterday, following his return from the United States and Mexico.

"Ambiguities crop up in connection with our policies toward the mass media and the ethnic minorities. However, I got the impression from my talks with our foreign partners that, as far as the ethnic minorities are concerned, they understand us better and accept our views," he added.

In connection with the current problems on the Slovak political scene and the means to resolve them, Minister Moravcik said that "it is very important to create a rational structure for the political parties in Slovakia, one that would be compatible with the structures of political parties in Western Europe."

"It is true," he continued, "that the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] does not have a partner in the structures of political parties in Western Europe, which is a undeniable handicap. It would be beneficial for Slovakia if the HZDS were also somehow to acquire a profile; incidentally, the HZDS has already expressed its political will for this."

"I would very much like the parties to have a clear profile before the next elections—and, therefore, I am of the opinion that the elections should not be held so soon—so that a healthy social democratic party, liberal party, or strong right-wing oriented party are established here. Or so that there is a rational structure here. If this happens, I do not think the old problems will be repeated," said Moravcik.

Border Control Agreements Signed With Ukraine

LD1410182993 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 14 Oct 93

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Although we are connected with our eastern neighbor, Ukraine, which is territorially one of the biggest states of Europe, by a border of just under 100 kilometers, the problems with protecting the border increase along with increasing pressure from East Europe and Asia.

Therefore, Ukrainian Interior Minister Andrey Vasylyshyn and Border Troops Control Minister Valeriy Hubenko arrived for a three-day visit to Slovakia at the invitation of Slovak Interior Minister Jozef Tuchyna. They signed numerous significant mutual agreements. Igor Skocek reports:

[Skocek] Specifically, they signed an agreement on state borders, on state border controls, a readmission agreement, a protocol on the readmission agreement, and an agreement on cooperation between the Interior Ministries of the Slovak Republic and Ukraine. [passage omitted]

Swedish Experts Offer Nuclear Waste Storage Model

AU1410130393 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 11 Oct 93 p 2

[TA SR report: "Solution to Radioactive Waste?"]

[Excerpt] Bratislava—Swedish experts have offered Slovakia their model of storing radioactive waste, Lubomira Zimanova, state secretary at the Ministry of Environment, said after returning from a five-day official visit to Sweden, during which she inspected, among other things, the permanent underground depository for radioactive waste at Forsmark.

She said that, in the future, the Slovak Ministry of Environment should play the role of mediator in cooperation between the Slovak Nuclear Surveillance Commission, the Slovak Ministry of Economy, and the relevant Swedish institutions. [passage omitted]

Jeszenszky Comments on Council of Europe Summit

AU1210093793 Budapest MTI in English 2019 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Text] Budapest, 9 Oct (MTI)—"We can be moderately satisfied with the fact that the summit of the Council of Europe [CE] in Vienna did not once and for all reject the convention of compulsory norms of minority protection," Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky said in an interview with MTI's correspondent on Saturday [9 October].

He added the second rider of the closing document expresses the commitment to pass this protocol. Creating the international norms could greatly influence the internal legislation of the individual countries to pass laws like the one on minorities in Hungary.

From among the documents accepted in Vienna, Jeszenszky stressed the resolution on setting up the unified human rights court. He called attention to the fact that the condemnation of racism, all sorts of national impatience and discrimination, and the related action plan, also include elements of minority protection, as they set down tolerance towards the nationalities, for instance the Hungarian minorities.

Jeszenszky said he considers the CE decision on setting up a committee gathering the local and regional bodies to be a highly important one. This implies a guarantee for the national minorities, he said.

The foreign minister welcomed that the majority of the CE member countries took the stand whereby membership conditions and requirements should not be eased. Jeszenszky was also satisfied to note that the Council of Europe no longer believes that the issue of minority rights is the internal affair of any country.

Jeszenszky reported about his talks held with Slovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik on Saturday. He said Moravcik had ensured him that a name-use law will be passed which will make it possible to use Hungarian names. Jeszenszky said the Slovak practice in this respect was a source of displeasure in Council of Europe circles. He added his talks with Moravcik were held in a good atmosphere.

Views Slovak-Hungarian Relations

AU1310175293 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Oct 93 p 11

[TA SR report: "Prior to the Bratislava Visit; Geza Jeszenszky on Slovak-Hungarian Relations"]

[Text] Vienna—"Today's meeting with Slovak Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Moravcik took place in a relaxed atmosphere. The aim of our talks was to assess which steps toward reinforcing mutual trust between the two states we consider necessary and feasible," Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs Geza Jeszenszky said in Vienna on Saturday [9 October].

The chief of Hungarian diplomacy noted that bilateral relations between Slovakia and Hungary could be assisted by a possible visit, as well as by specific steps prior to, or during, the visit. "I am thinking of the implementation of a decision of principle on new border crossings and of the speediest possible solution to outstanding issues between the two countries that are subject of discussion," Geza Jeszenszky said. He added that if states and nations get to know one another better and if scientific approach to minority rights and impartial education are realized, this becomes a suitable means of liberating oneself of mutual fear in people and parties. [sentence as published]

"The Council of Europe continues to have on its agenda the drafting of binding norms, compliance with which constitutes the obligatory minimum regarding behavior toward minorities. Evidently, this also applies to Slovakia as a Council of Europe member country," Geza Jeszenszky said. "I believe, however, that neighboring countries, between which there are extraordinarily narrow historical, personal, and economic relations, which ought to be intensified, need not seek the European minimum but, at any rate, should seek exemplary relations in practice," he noted.

Asked by the TA SR correspondent whether the issue of the Slovak minority in Hungary was also discussed during the meeting, Geza Jeszenszky replied: "I also mentioned this issue. The Hungarian side signalled, also by means of the approved law on minorities, that it wants to support by all means the preservation of the right to self-determination of various national and ethnic minorities living in Hungary. I believe, however, that there exists an inaccurate picture in the Slovak society," he said. He noted that "the size of the Slovak minority is not known." According to the chief of Hungarian diplomacy, "the fact tends to be forgotten that almost 100,000 Hungarian Slovaks had left Hungary in the years 1946-48, during the resettlement that had been forced upon Hungary." One speaks [in Slovakia] about a minority of 400,000 people, despite the fact that, after World War I, about 150,000 Slovaks lived in Hungary. This number was substantially reduced after the resettlement operation. Moreover, Slovaks in Hungary live dispersed in several parts of the country. "Therein lies the fundamental difference between Slovak Hungarians and Hungarian Slovaks, not to mention the fact that, at the time when Slovaks settled in Hungary, Slovak did not exist as a literary language, as a result of which their national awareness has never been as strong and developed as among Slovak Hungarians, who turned from Hungarian citizens to Slovak citizens overnight," the Hungarian minister said.

Government 'Shocked' by Iliescu's Statement

AU1310170093 Budapest MTI in English 1510 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Budapest, 12 October (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Affairs Spokesman Janos Herman says the government was shocked by the accusations which Romanian President Ion Iliescu made concerning Hungary's foreign policies in an address to a "consultative conference of the eastern Romanian community" in Bucharest last week.

The address was published in full in the weekend supplement of the Romanian daily, DIMINEATA, which is aligned with Romania's head of state.

Leading Hungarian diplomats say the address fails to fit into an apparent trend of improvement in bilateral ties.

The desire for improved relations was signified by Hungary's favorable response to Romania's admission to the Council of Europe. Romania was pleased that Hungary did not raise any obstacle to the admission.

Herman recalled a visit by Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky to Romania between September 15 and 19 which was seen by both sides as relaunching communication.

True, he added, when Jeszenszky met Iliescu in Bucharest, there was immediate dispute over Iliescu's accusations that Hungary sought to provide political and organizational support to Hungarian minority organizations abroad.

Jeszenszky firmly rejected Iliescu's statement comparing Hungary's minority policy to Hitler's practice of organizing German minorities outside the country as a fifth column to prepare for German occupation by subversive activity. Iliescu made this statement at the meeting with Jeszenszky and in the address quoted by DIMINEATA.

Herman expressed hope that improvement of bilateral relations may continue despite Iliescu's address.

Finance Minister Explains Budget Deficit

AU1410114393 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 13 Oct 93 p 10

[Interview with Finance Minister Ivan Szabo by Ibolya Veres; place and date not given: "I Am Not Willing To Assist in the Destruction of the Country"]

[Text] The government is in an impossible situation: Parliament enacted a law on the central bank whereby the central bank is independent of the government but the government is not independent of the central bank, Ivan Szabo told MAGYAR HIRLAP talking about the fact that the central bank's higher interest rates will increase the budget burden by 40 to 45 billion forints [Ft] in 1994. We learned from Szabo that it cannot be excluded that the cabinet will draw on foreign sources to finance the Ft350 billion budget deficit.

[Veres] Compared to the submitted budget proposal, the deficit of the central budget will increase by Ft100 billion and will be Ft350 billion in 1994. Does this mean that the government has broken the agreement with the IMF?

[Szabo] Undoubtedly, the deficit of the central budget will be Ft350 billion. However, the deficit of state administration will only increase by Ft60 billion because the Ft40 billion social security deficit is only moved across to the central budget. Out of the Ft60 billion, some Ft15 to 20 billion are the burden of credit consolidation in 1994 and Ft40 to 45 billion are a technical excess amount arising from the central bank's increased interest rates. The interest on debt servicing will increase by this amount because of the higher interest rates. I do not think that this means a violation of the IMF agreement because these are only technical steps. In the increased deficit, the amount spent on credit consolidation is not wasteful spending. We actually indicated to the IMF that we would be happy if it examined the government's activities and the budget deficit without the interest burdens of debt servicing. The interest is always changing and this has an effect on the government's financial management. We are in an impossible situation because we made a central bank law whereby the central bank is independent of the government but the government is not independent of the central bank. It is undoubtedly true that financing the increased deficit can cause problems.

[Veres] It is certain that it will not be possible to finance this from domestic savings. During the budget debate, it has been mentioned a number of times that the country is being swept toward another wave of indebtedness. How will you finance the deficit?

[Szabo] Yes, we are approaching another wave of indebtedness but I was glad to hear [Federation of Young Democrats Chairman] Viktor Orban say that economic growth would make this worthwhile. We are trying to take some technical steps—we have started serious talks on this with the Hungarian National Bank [MNB]—which can alleviate this increased interest burden. However, it cannot be excluded that we will have to draw on foreign sources. I must add that I am more inclined to do this than to finance the deficit from inflation, which would mean the destruction of the economy.

[Veres] In your introductory speech, you made a surprising statement, namely we will not have economic growth in 1994. Has your forecast changed?

[Szabo] No. The point is that if the MNB upholds the high interest rates all year, then the participants of the economy will rather keep their money in the bank than invest it. In other words, this might induce an action against economic growth that the government will not be able to counteract through tax and investment allowances.

[Veres] At the moment, it seems that the MNB is the root cause of all problems although it is only performing its

duties. As a matter of fact, [MNB Chairman] Akos Peter Bod has good relations with the government.

[Szabo] Yes, but he has an economic conviction that he will not sacrifice, giving up his principles, for good personal relations. The government also has an economic conviction, and the two should be brought closer to one other. I do not feel that this strong measure by the bank will help much in stopping the deterioration of the payment balance.

[Veres] What sort of budget debate are you expecting? Where will you give and what will you insist on?

[Szabo] I believe that, precisely to stop the foreign debt from exceeding a certain level, I can only accept such amendment proposals in which it is stated that anything that is given will be set off against something else. Even in this case, I will mainly support those proposals that serve economic growth. From the debates in the committees, I conclude that some of the deputies do not support the increased stamp duties. If Parliament refuses the bill on stamp duty, then it will have used up its own room for maneuver. I cannot possibly not support Ft10 billion revenue while I increase the expenditure because the budget deficit will further increase. This must not be done because it is possible that in this case I would say no to the budget. I am not willing to assist in the destruction of the country.

Officials View Possible Electoral Alliances

AU1410130793 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 12 Oct 93 pp 1, 5

[Unattributed report: "The Parties Are Already Seeking Their Election Allies"]

[Text] The Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] and the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] will run alone in the election scheduled for 1994. The Smallholders' 36 Group are still working on strengthening their own party and on creating a uniform election bloc; however, they regard the current coalition parties as their natural partners.

The Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] and the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] have formed an alliance, and the Agricultural Alliance and the Entrepreneurs Party have joined them as partners. The SZDSZ envisages the possibility of cooperation with the Republic Party in certain electoral districts. The Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] regards the National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions [MSZOSZ], the Pensioners' Party, and the Association of Left-Wing Youths as partners in the elections. The Hungarian Justice and Life Party can only imagine an electoral alliance with nationalist forces; with the current coalition only if the personal composition of the coalition leaders changes. Torgyan's Smallholders regard the Christian National Alliance, an organization bringing together 30 smaller parties and movements, as well as the Hungarian Market Party, as their partners.

The Agricultural Alliance and the Republic Party regard each other as possible allies, and the National Democratic Alliance [NDSZ] led by Imre Pozsgay wants to rely mainly on parties outside Parliament. Our discussion with the leading officials of the 12 parties present in the Hungarian Parliament aimed at clarifying these parties' preferences for electoral alliances eight months before the elections.

Laszlo Medgyasszay, member of the MDF Executive Committee: "The position of the MDF has always been that it will not form an alliance with anyone until after the first round of the parliamentary elections, and it will consider any further cooperation only in view of the results. Therefore, the MDF has not yet held talks with anyone, but it is natural that, in the second round of the elections, the MDF will form an alliance with the current allies."

Gabor Kuncze, head of the Parliamentary Group of the SZDSZ and the party's nominee for the position of prime minister: "We only have a concrete and comprehensive electoral agreement with the FIDESZ, and we do not plan to sign a similar agreement with others. Although we have a cooperation agreement with the Entrepreneurs Party, this agreement does not refer to the elections. We can envisage some cooperation with the Republic Party and the Agricultural Alliance in some electoral districts."

Zoltan Gal, head of the Parliamentary Group of the MSZP: "The MSZP is ready to negotiate with any party that respects the Constitution. The MSZOSZ, the Pensioners' Party, and the Association of Left-Wing Youth will be our allies."

Laszlo Kover, head of the parliamentary group of the FIDESZ: "In addition to our agreement with the SZDSZ, we find it possible to cooperate with the Agricultural Alliance and the Entrepreneurs' Party."

Miklos Gaspar, deputy head of the parliamentary group of the KDNP: "The KDNP has repeatedly declared that it will not form an electoral alliance with anyone in the first round of the elections; the KDNP will run alone and will present candidates in every electoral district. At the same time, the KDNP is striving to be a decisive member of the next government together with parties that have features similar to the Christian Democrats."

Lajos Horvath, the chairman designate and head of the Parliamentary Group of the Hungarian Justice and Life Party: "Cooperation is only possible with nationalist forces, including the current coalition, but only if the personal composition of its leadership changes considerably. The Hungarian Justice and Life Party found natural partners in the Hungarian Way Circles and the Solidarity Trade Union."

Sandor Gyorivanyi, deputy chairman of the Independent Smallholders Party [FKgP]: "The FKgP will run together with the Christian Democratic Alliance, a union

gathering together some 30 smaller parties and movements; naturally, the FKgP also regards the Hungarian Market Party as its ally; the FKgP has recently formed a joint Parliamentary Group with the Hungarian Market Party."

Imre Pozsgay, head of the NDSZ: "The NDSZ is ready to form a coalition with every constitutional party. We also want to rely on several non-parliamentary parties."

Tamas Nagy, head of the Agricultural Alliance: "We are seeking partners not on the basis of blood relations; instead, we examine the various programs and their compatibility with ours. Today, it seems that we can count on the FIDESZ and the SZDSZ, and on the Entrepreneurs Party among the non-parliamentary parties. However, our closest contacts are with the Republic Party."

Istvan Halasz of the Hungarian Market Party: "We would gladly participate in the creation of a conservative bloc, even as initiators. However, the modification of the election law currently being debated by Parliament, namely that the threshold for parties that want to get into Parliament together might be raised to 7 percent, does not benefit the creation of election alliances."

Bela Mizsei, one of the organizers of the newly-organized Smallholders Party: "The Smallholders' 36 Group are primarily endeavoring to create a strong electoral alliance with the smallholder parties. If this joint platform emerges, we will count on the current coalition parties as allies, particularly the KDNP."

Janos Petrenko of the Republic Party: "It is certain that the Republic Party does not want any coalition with the parties that have proven their unsuitability for power in the course of the past four years."

Environment Minister Reacts to Dam Protest

LD1210135693 Prague CTK in English 1004 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Budapest, Oct 12 (CTK)—Hungarian Environment Minister Janos Gyurko today reacted in the Hungarian paper NEPSZABADSAG to an announcement by the director of the Slovak State Hydroconstruction Company, Julius Binder, who said on television on Sunday that Hungary did not have the right to demolish the circular dam on the Danube near Nagymaros.

Julius Binder could perhaps finally read the Hungarian-Czechoslovak agreement from 1977, which even if it were valid would not concern the circular dam. This agreement says that only permanent constructions are in joint ownership, not temporary ones, Gyurko said.

Hungary abrogated the Hungarian-Czechoslovak agreement in May 1992, and this spring announced its intention of demoloshing the circular dam near Nagymaros, where the second part of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric project is planned. The Slovaks protested Hungary's intention with a diplomatic note.

Hungary would like to start demolishing the dam this year. The work is estimated to cost 12 billion forints (130 million USD).

Trade Deficit With Japan Continues To Grow

LD1210205293 Budapest MTI in English 1704 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Tokyo, October 12 (MTI)—Over the first eight months of 1993, Hungarian exports to Japan were down 4.8 percent from last year in the same period, amounting to USD 54.3 million.

Imports rose to USD 221 million, 30.9 percent more than in the same period of 1992.

Hungary's trade-deficit with Japan was USD 109 million in 1991, and USD 166 million in 1992, according to Sandor Kiss, Hungary's trade representative in Japan .

At the opening of the Osaka business forum on Tuesday, Kiss told a large delegation of Hungarians that the high trade-deficit was due to the import of modern Japanese technology.

Hungarian exports to Japan are expected to fall by five percent for this year, he said.

Walesa Expresses Concern About Pawlak

LD1410141293 Warsaw PAP in English 1345 GMT 14 Oct 93

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 14—President Lech Walesa on Thursday [14 October] said that he would not block the candidacy of Waldemar Pawlak for the post of prime minister.

Walesa, holding a press conference during a break in the first meeting of the Sejm (lower house), added: "Waldemar Pawlak was and is my favourite. However, as a president I must consider personnel issues having in mind the current situation in the country."

"Pawlak was and is a great candidate, but in given conditions. He was great when there was a parliamentary balance, he would have been great in a more stable system. However, it is a waste of my friend Pawlak in such a complicated situation. I wish him well and that is why I have to say that, in my opinion, he will not be able to cope with challenges facing him. I hope that I am wrong."

Walesa To Approve Pawlak

LD1410143093 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1400 GMT 14 Oct 93

[Text] The Polish Peasant Party [PSL] leader Waldemar Pawlak will form the new government. This was decided by President Lech Walesa. Andrzej Drzycimski, the president's spokesman, announced that the president, not wishing to prolong the state of uncertainty in the appointment of prime minister, intends to designate Waldemar Pawlak for this post as soon as the outgoing government submits its resignation and as soon as it is accepted.

Oleksy Gives Thanks for Support

LD1410155693 Warsaw PAP in English 1419 GMT 14 Oct 93

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 14—The new Sejm (Lower House) Speaker Jozef Oleksy told deputies after his election to the post on Thursday [14 October] that he was pleased that support for his candidacy had come from "various sides of the chamber".

He stressed that, "I am and will remain a person of the left" but maintained that he would be contacting the extra-parliamentary opposition and not restrict himself to dealings with the opposition in the Sejm.

Oleksy said that he would ensure that, "this Sejm will be a working Sejm".

Oleksy announced that he would be steered by democratic values, the aim of building a healthy economy the results of which would be felt by millions of people and not just elites and experts.

Oleksy thought that a good deputy is a deputy, "whom citizens are not ashamed of when he speaks and whom they trust when he formulates the law."

Oleksy Interviewed

LD1410222693 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 2000 GMT 14 Oct 93

["Panorama" program; relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network]

[Excerpts] Deputy Jozef Oleksy has become the Speaker of the Sejm of the second Term. The deputies sworn in today have reduced from five to three the number of deputy speakers. [passage omitted]

Jozef Oleksy was the only candidate for the Sejm speaker's chair. He was supported by 357 deputies from among the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], the Democratic Union [UD], and the German Minority. All the Confederation for Independent Poland [KPN] deputies voting and one from the UD were against, that is 22 parliamentarians altogether.

Fifty eight, mainly from the Union of Labour [UP] and the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms [BBWR], abstained from the vote.

Speaker Oleksy is 47 years old. He is a graduate of the Foreign Trade Department of the Main School of Planning and Statistics [SGPiS] in Warsaw. From 1975 he held many posts in the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR]. He was, inter alia, the first secretary of the voivodship committee in Biala Podlaska. He took part in the roundtable talks. He was a deputy to the Sejms of the Tenth and the First Terms, and is a member of the Political Advisory Committee attached to the minister of internal affairs.

[Begin recording] [Oleksy] [Oleksy shown interviewed while sitting in the speaker's chair] I have no and have never had inclinations toward the celebration of, nor toward the formal side of my position. I treat this place here as my workplace, and a not inconsiderable one at that.

[Unidentified correspondent] How do you imagine cooperation between the new parliament—that as you have said is left inclined—and the president, who will be seeking to strengthen the right wing?

[Oleksy] I leave the matter of the strengthening the right wing to the president. I am a representative of the left, and I will remain such, although I will be the speaker for the entire parliament, with all certainty. And here my leaning toward the left cannot have any influence on the functioning of things. Such that the president will himself specify and implement the methods of strengthening his right wing. On the other hand, as regards cooperation, I am a man and a politician who always seeks cooperation, is always ready to undertake it, is always open to talks, discussions and dialogue, and I feel that Poland very much needs this. I will always be a supporter

of, and I will devote much attention to, cooperation among all the highest bodies of authority in the state being good cooperation, not a ceremonial one, and serving to resolve the problems of the country. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Struzik Elected Polish Senate Speaker

LD1510120693 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1108 GMT 15 Oct 93

[Address by Senior Speaker Jan Malak at the inaugural meeting of the newly elected Polish Senate in Warsaw—live; relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish]

[Excerpts] I recommence proceedings. I hereby announce the results of the secret ballot on the election of the speaker of the Senate.

The protocol of the secret ballot held on 15 October 1993 for the election of the speaker of the third term Senate of the Polish Republic: Ninety-nine votes were cast in the secret ballot for the election of the speaker of the third term Senate of the Polish Republic, including one invalid vote. The required absolute majority of votes comes to 50 votes. Senators Krzysztof Borkowski, Andrzej Chronowski, Janusz Okrzesik, appointed by the senior speaker for the invigilation of the vote, state that 87 Senators voted for the candidature. [applause]

There were six against, and five Senators abstained. Senator Adam Struzik [the only candidate nominated] attained the required absolute majority of votes. [passage omitted]

In light of the results of the vote and the consent expressed by Senator Adam Struzik I have the honor to state that the Senate has accepted a resolution as follows: On the basis of Article 10, Section one, and in association with Article 26 of the Constitutional Law of 17 October 1992 on the mutual relations between the legislative and executive branches of the Polish Republic and on territorial self-government, the Senate of the Polish Republic chooses Senator Adam Struzik [Polish Peasant Party senator] for the post of speaker of the Senate.

Suchocka To Sign Government's Dismissal Friday

LD1410213493 Warsaw PAP in English 2115 GMT 14 Oct 93

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 14—In connection with the inauguration of the new Sejm (lower house) and according to the Constitutional principles, Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka will sign the government dismissal document on Friday morning [15 October]. Suchocka's press secretary Zdobyslaw Milewski annouced on Thursday.

Speaking to the tv main news bulletin, Milewski said that the prime minister ordered the preparation of all the required documents shortly after she came from the Sejm to her office. The document will be sent to the president as soon as it is possible, he added.

Walesa Interviewed on Election Outcome

AU1410113493 Poznan WPROST in Polish 10 Oct 93 pp 13-15

[Interview with President Lech Walesa by Piotr Gabryel, Marek Krol, Boguslaw Mazur, and Marek Zieleniewski; place and date not given: "I Am a Crossword Specialist"]

[Text] [WPROST] When you predicted a victory for the left before the elections you said: "I will cope with it." Now you are being depicted as a great winner, because you are still the main figure directing the political scene, but—in light of the poor result obtained by the BBWR [Non-Party Block in Support of Reforms]—you are also being depicted as the great loser.

[Walesa] People assess things as they see fit. My task is to reform the country and to catch up on democracy. Learning is about ups and downs. In the school of democracy, a 40-million-strong nation will experience such ups and downs, and I am responsible for ensuring that nothing will hinder us in acquiring knowledge and that we keep going forward at the same time. To my mind, the outcome of the elections had already been decided, I was only looking at how Polish matters could be raised to higher level of development.

[WPROST] Before the elections, you said: "If the left wants to get its fingers burned, if it wants to be a total loser, then it should win now." The left has won. When will it become a "total loser?"

[Walesa] Communism and the heirs of communism will not be forgiven for their crimes for a long time to come, and so they do not stand any chance at all. It is not true that they can make up for things. Even if they do, the nation will throw them out, but in a democratic class, in a class of victory for the country. I will be conducting the entire game in a way that will benefit the nation the most.

[WPROST] However, does society not have any colors other than black and white to choose from? The communists committed crimes, but the right also has the Bereza Kartuska [prison for political dissidents before World War II] weighing on it....

[Walesa] You have forgotten 1410, the Battle of Grunwald.... People do not assess things that far back, they look much closer. Today, they will be assessing the past 50 years.

[WPROST] Do you think that one should return to the phraseology of decommunization?

[Walesa] We have not carried out decommunization, and I am well aware of that. The entire communist apparatus was and is sitting in structures and hindering the wheels of reform. The only thing was that one could not fight in the way that some proposed. Now, we will give them another chance to work for the country. Those

who will remain on the sidelines now will take note of their work and use it for their ends. That is what the finale will be like.

[WPROST] The formation of a government by the SLD [Democratic Left Alliance] might be—especially in the West—interpreted as a brake on reform. On the other hand, if the SLD remains in opposition, that will enable it to increase the number of its supporters.

[Walesa] There will be no brake on reform. I will not allow that to happen, even if it means applying the Yeltsin option. I did not come here to play at being the president, but to be the president. Of course, I am not interfering, I am not showing how strong I am, I am even showing how weak I am, but I am not going to allow any moves to be made that might reverse the solutions that have already been worked out. Irrespective of who will govern today, they must carry out what has already been outlined and cannot make any changes in this respect. If they try to do that I will stop them.

[WPROST] Yeltsin go rid of parliament by violating the Constitution.

[Walesa] I am ready to face the State Tribunal, but I am not, of course, a stunt man, I know about politics, and I have coped in more difficult circumstances. If I do something, then it will not be because of ambition, but because that is what a given political situation dictates. I will only guide things.

[WPROST] So, how do you want to realize the Yeltsin scenario under Polish conditions?

[Walesa] I am not saying that I would act precisely the same way that Yeltsin would; I would improve on what he did—I would not dissolve parliament, but announce new elections, and I would tell the opposition that if they think that they are right, then the nation will elect them. I would say that I will not use force unless there is a danger of unrest. I would have the parliament building renovated, and those in the opposition would calmly go to the elections. They would be convinced that the nation would elect them. A few people from the old setup would remain in parliament. I think that the following kind of scenario would be possible in Poland: Each of the two largest parties would govern for six months at a time. Then, there would be a great public commotion and the attacks would discourage parliamentarians to such an extent that they would not come to the Sejm at all. There would be a stalemate and the Sejm would not be able to meet. Then--although the law does not require me to—I would have to find a solution for which the majority would applaud me, as was the case with the recent dissolution of the Sejm. It will become a classic case for all political textbooks, unwise behavior on the part of the right followed by confusion on the left. It will become a part of teaching democracy.

[WPROST] Why should deputies not want to go to the Sejm?

[Walesa] They will not want to because of hostility toward members of parliament, toward their various battles, and they will be taunted in the streets.

[WPROST] But you say that you will not permit anarchy in the streets....

[Walesa] Wait a moment, that does not mean that they will have to start fighting each other. The only point is that there will have to be a quarrel within the SLD itself. That is obvious.

[WPROST] And if a left-wing government maintains the current reform course, will you support it?

[Walesa] Just as I cared about the "left leg" for different reasons, I will now have to care about the "right leg." I will have to bring about a balance so that democracy is not destroyed and so that the process of reform can be controlled at the same time.

[WPROST] Jaroslaw Kaczynski, the leader of the Center Accord, has held out an olive branch to you and proposed the formation of an anticommunist front.

[Walesa] It is not an anticommunist front, because there are no more communists in Poland. There has to be a balance between left and right in Poland, and I intend to bring that about.

[WPROST] So, you will not take up Kaczynski's offer?

[Walesa] There are people who have to go into retirement. There are not many of them, but they have to do that. That should be decided by their organizations, and they will probably do that. We have already heard about such reorientations. Several politicians have upset the balance on the right. After accounts are settled, the rest will form a bloc for supporting reform.

[WPROST] Should the Democratic Union [UD] find itself in such a bloc?

[Walesa] The UD can go its own way and enjoy a level of support that will oscillate between 10 and 12 percent. It may become irreformable, or it may join the tendency that will reformable and acquire a stronger position.

[WPROST] You are issuing warnings to the left and you want to strengthen the right, but do you not think that street demonstrations organized by those groupings that failed to get into parliament might also pose a great threat?

[Walesa] No one should imagine that they can bring down the Polish house, even if they are very close to the president, that they can start fires, shoot, and create trouble. I will not allow it. Everything must take place within the classroom of democracy, in the classroom of social support, not the classroom of "gangs who stir up trouble." They might be able to organize three demonstrations, but they will not get away with a fourth, even if they are my best friends.

[WPROST] However, your desire to maintain the reform course might not gain approval in the current parliament. Which forces will you turn to?

[Walesa] We are just building democracy. If great mistakes are made and if there is great degree of dissatisfaction that might even force parliament to be dissolved. Things will be that difficult, running the state will be so difficult that the left will give up of its own accord. We have to respect democracy and respect each other. However, there have been three parliaments and none of them have survived to the end of their full term of office, and this one too will not survive if its not equal to its tasks.

[WPROST] The poor result obtained by the BBWR, which you support, indicates that you do not enjoy the same degree of popularity as before. So, along with whom do you want to apply the Yeltsin option?

[Walesa] What do you know about the BBWR? You surely noticed that as long as I supported the BBWR, as long as it had a logical concept, as long as everything was okay, the level of support for it stood at 20 percent. However, when I realized that victory with that group would not be victory, I withdrew.

[WPROST] Why would it not have been a victory?

[Walesa] Because other groups also appeared, and they began to win considerable support—I am thinking of Bugaj's party [Union of Labor] or "Fatherland"—and in that situation dragging on with the subject would have been absurd. Of course, I would have got 15 percent in the elections, but that is too little to govern, and that is why I left the whole game.

[WPROST] Does that mean that the BBWR has lost your support?

[Walesa] No. It is very good as a starting point, as an idea for future solutions. I asked the nation to express itself, but it did not make use of that. When the political scene is so divided, a party cannot be formed in two months. In that kind of situation, you can take away someone else's "building blocks," but you need a little time. That is why all that was needed was to introduce and show an idea, and then withdraw, and that is what I did.

[WPROST] In strengthening the right, have you taken into account the fact that in a society in which a middle class is only coming into being, left-wing parties will have a larger clientele than right-wing ones?

[Walesa] We still do not have a division into left and right. The parties that are placed on the left are—according to Western ideas—often right-wing. I tried to introduce some order through the BBWR, I proposed a system in which employees, employers, and farmers would be organized separately. For the time being, only Pawlak's party is closer to a logical orientation.

[WPROST] Class parties are pure Marxism.

[Walesa] I am saying that at this point, one that sees us building a system. After some order has been established, there really would be a second phase, for example, among farmers there would be Christian and left-wing farmers. The situation would be similar in the case of other groupings. Without this kind of order, we cannot determine who has a left-wing and who has a right-wing program.

[WPROST] Mr. President, in 1989, you succeeded in creating a government along with the ZSL [United Peasant Party] and SD [Democratic Party] while removing the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] at the same time. Would it be possible to repeat this kind of maneuver today?

[Walesa] It is, but why? Today, each side has to govern for six months to assume responsibility for the economy.

[WPROST] At that time, it was also said that the communists should be left with the economy for another few years and only then should power be taken over.

[Walesa] Considering that now, you are right. However, in order to arrive at such conclusions, it was necessary to take over power then. It was necessary to employ that maneuver under the setup that existed at that time, now it is not. Please bear in mind that the Soviet Union still existed then. Why did I enter the Belweder? I was terribly afraid that General Jaruzelski would be sitting here, and that he would find himself in such circumstances that he would have to act unwisely. I was terribly afraid of Moscow. Terribly! And I was right: There was a putsch, who knows what would have happened had Jaruzelski been president.

[WPROST] But the old forces can still take over power in Moscow.

[Walesa] The only thing is that there is not one single Russian soldier in Poland now, and if they want to enter Poland, they would have to declare war. Were there not a whole series of problems with the withdrawal of the Russians? Well, exactly, and if I had not achieved that? What would the situation be like now, following the left's victory? I would prefer not to have foreign armies here any more, and the left should be allowed to govern. What would happen if those forces were still here?

[WPROST] The parties who won the elections and have a two-thirds majority in the Sejm have made it their goal to limit the powers of the president. Will you seek to prevent that, and if so how?

[Walesa] I am also considering what will be best for the country. If strong presidential powers are to cause conflicts, then the office of president should be dissolved and the prime minister should be granted more powers. However, I think that a strong president is needed today, because that guarantees more effective executive power.

[WPROST] Can you imagine serving a further term of office, but with limited powers?

[Walesa] If I am to choose the presidential path once again, then I will have to have more opportunities than at present. I will actively seek such opportunities.

[Walesa] For the time being, SLD leaders have been stressing that they respect your constitutional powers and they want to discuss appointments to the Ministry of National Defense, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ministry of Internal Affairs with you.

[Walesa] The SLD behaves differently on even days and differently on odd days. On the first, they give me power and on the second, they take it away. However, it has to be borne in mind that if the right side behaves even worse than at present and if there will be strikes, will I feel comfortable having a minister of internal affairs and sending out people with batons in defense of the SLD? They should do that with their own minister. However, they, knowing how difficult reforms are, realize that it would be better for them if the Ministry belonged to the president.

[WPROST] Mr. President, views have been expressed in the world press to the effect that the West has done too little to support the Poland reforms and that has resulted in the outcome of these elections.

[Walesa] Of course, that kind of interpretation benefits us, because it is true that West was not exactly very eager to assist. However, we, above all, are not able to use assistance. We cannot make use of all the millions that have been accumulated. You cannot be so naive as to think that the West will bring something along and hand it over, one has to know how to take things first.

[WPROST] Before the elections, you said: "Let them do what they want to do, and I will put things right." Are you sure that you will be able to "put things right?"

[Walesa] I have been working for 13 years in our country. When I was interned and I told the communists that they had lost, they did not believe me. For example, I said to those who were around me "professionally," who looked after me although I did not want that: Be polite, the time will come when you will be serving me. Those who believed me are working for me and those who did not believe me have already gone. Over a period of decades, I realized my goals and I am realizing them now. Let no one doubt that I will be able to solve this crossword. I am a crossword specialist.

Walesa Addresses New Senate Session

LD1510110093 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 0901 GMT 15 Oct 93

[Opening address by President Lech Walesa at the inaugural meeting of the newly elected Polish Senate in Warsaw—live; relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network]

[Text] Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen. The Senate of the Polish Republic is beginning another term of office today.

Yesterday the Sejm started its work. We therefore have a new parliament. Legislative authority of the Polish state has been established. You have received social mandate of trust. Poles have entrusted you with the power to legislate—this is a great power, but, at the same time, a great responsibility.

The burden of hope and expectations of the electorate is now resting upon you. First and foremost, however, the burden of responsibility for the state, for its stability and security, for such a development of state structures which will work for the success of the whole nation and all citizens.

Poland needs wise laws which keep pace with reality. They form a foundation of social order. They should be a backbone of our reforms. The wider the gray area which is outside the law, the wider the scope for corrupt practices, corruption and passive indolence of civil servants.

We have been building democracy and market economy. It looks as if the majority of Poles in the parliamentary elections were in favor of continuing this process, but with a different speed and using different methods, on a hard ground of clear and effective law. We need clear criteria which differentiate between liberty and anarchy and between entrepreneurship and dishonesty.

The role in this of the Senate, which is both a legislator and guard in the process of legislating, is great. The Senate will influence the system of the state and rules demarcating human behavior.

Ladies and gentlemen. Emotions connected with the elections have already quietened down. Everyday life of democracy is just beginning. We want democracy in Poland to be strong, effective and respected so that it becomes an instrument working for the success of the nation and every citizen.

Time for difficult decisions is ahead of us, ahead of the parliament, the president and the future government. Would that they be most accurate and responsible. Would that they end hitherto errors, but at the same time multiply and protect what we have already managed to achieve. This is what I wish all of you, who in a moment will take a senator's oath. This is what I wish Poland. [applause]

UP Still Feels 'Bound' to Agreements

WS1510080693 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Oct 93 p 1

[Report by E.O.: "Union of Labor's Definite 'No'"]

[Text] The Presidium of the Union of Labor [UP]—availing themselves of a safety valve left for them by the UP National Council—refused to sign a coalition agreement with the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. However, the Presidium declared its support for the new cabinet.

During the vote, which took place during a closed session of the Presidium, seven people voted against joining the government, six people voted in favor of joining a coalition, while two members abstained. "We said goodbye to PSL and SLD in a friendly atmosphere," said Ryszard Bugaj, the UP leader, who is opposed to his party joining a government. "The negotiating team failed to obtain sufficient guarantees for changes in the nature and extent of the Program of Popular Privatization. Acceptance of the proposals offered us, would render our election promises not credible," reads a statement from the Presidium delivered during Wednesday's [13 October] press conference.

UP's view is that the obstacle preventing it from joining the government coalition is a change in several decisions which had been agreed upon before, concerning three ministries—the Internal Affairs Ministry, the Foreign Ministry, and the Defense Ministry—which are partially within the president's range of powers. PSL and SLD also did not agree to UP's amendment regarding the criteria of selecting candidates for governmental posts. The issue was about preventing people "known for their antidemocratic activity or involvement in illegal activities" from occupying high posts in the state administration. UP—in accordance with what Bugaj said—wanted in this way to secure the administration against a possible wave of promotions by people who "have bad records from the previous era."

Because of the timeframe of the coalition talks, which SLD made dependent on the issue of selecting the Sejm speaker as a condition for selecting the coalition, opinions on personnel issues were never exchanged. That was also an obstacle for UP, which wanted to know beforehand who would occupy strategic posts in the new government. In addition to that—and that is also because of a lack of time—amendments to an appendix on social policy were not introduced, whereas—according to UP—there is a close link between signing the coalition agreement and the appendix's contents.

"All that does not mean that the talks conducted up to now impose no obligations on us"—Bugaj said. "We were successful in coming to an agreement on many issues, and we feel bound by those understandings."

Asked by RZECZPOSPOLITA to comment on the decision to not join the coalition, Ryszard Bugaj said: "Our voters are expecting action from us, but the action must be in implementing the program, not in occupying ministerial posts. Our electorate was expecting us to join a government with the Democratic Union. Since that scenario proved impractical, we had to find a way out of this situation, a way of compromise. We can support the government, but we do not have to blur the line between ourselves and SLD."

Excerpts of Coalition Economic Agreement

WS1410133093 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Oct 93 pp 7, 8

[Report compiled by P.A.: "New Solutions in Economic Policy; 50-Percent Income Tax Rate, More Benefits; Higher Budget Deficit Unavoidable; Valorization of Pensions and Wages—Gradually"]

[Text] **We present below some excerpts from the over-20-page appendix to the coalition agreement, regarding principles and solutions to be adopted in terms of economic policy, which was agreed upon by the Polish Peasant Party, the Democratic Left Alliance, and, to some extent, the Union of Labor.**

1. Budget Policy

If, despite measures taken in terms of revenue, the implementation of plans intended to secure economic growth and decrease unemployment, required a temporary, small, noninflationary increase in the 1994 budget deficit, then the parties [to the coalition agreement] regard that option as possible. Because of heavy burdens imposed on the budget by interest on the ever-increasing domestic debt, it is recommended that the budget deficit be financed—to a somewhat larger extent than up to now—by the Polish National Bank purchasing Treasury bills.

To decrease the burden on the above-mentioned budget, the parties regard it as appropriate to extend the period of short-term Treasury bills, with the option of substituting some of them with shares of companies being privatized.

The parties agree that the current inflation is primarily of a cost nature. Because of that, the parties regard it as necessary to limit the scale of increases in government-controlled prices, in particular prices for electricity and natural gas. In this context, a revision is required of the concept of increasing the VAT [value-added tax] rate on energy carriers beginning in July 1994. That increase is provided for by the Law on Taxes on Merchandise and Services.

2. Budget Revenue Policy

In terms of budget revenues, the parties regard it as necessary to increase revenue from taxes and customs duties, as a result of:

—regaining by state-owned companies of the ability to earn income and render financial obligations to the state budget, as a result of restructuring debts among those companies which have a realistic program of effective economic activity;

—strengthening and improving work by Treasury agencies and customs services, as well as amending legal provisions concerning taxes and financial turnover;

—widening the application of the VAT tax to a part of those areas which have not been covered by it up to now;

—bringing in additional revenue as a result of applying an appropriate excise policy;

—amendments to the principles of application of the tax chart [not further specified];

—improvements in the rigor of routine payments into the budget, as well as gaining a one-time strengthening of the budget through a conditional remission of part of corporate tax arrears, coupled with a partial payment of those arrears.

3. Budget Expenditure Policy

The parties agree the following should be accomplished in the first place, in 1994:

—a reform of the system of financial benefits for families, to concentrate that system on those families with particularly low incomes;

—a return of housing benefits for low-income families (possibly in conjunction with a valorization of rents for housing allocations);

—an increase of the lowest-level pensions for senior citizens and other kinds of pensions;

—initiation of a gradual increase in the rate of valorization of different kinds of pensions;

—regardless of the necessity of initiating a process of transformations in the education system and health service, an increase of financial means for expenditures in both those areas, as well as in science, should be accomplished;

The parties recognize the need for measures aimed at limiting budget subsidies to the Social Security Fund, as a result of:

—persistent prevention of substituting work contracts with contracts for orders;

—conditional remission and restructuring of part of the debt by various units toward the Social Security Agency, on the condition of maintaining the rigor of routine payments, and the payment of part of the fees in arrears.

4. The Tax System

The parties think that the main changes should be about:

—abolishing the so-called mandatory dividend and interest on capital, through the adoption of measures contained in the "Agreement on State-Owned Enterprises";

—abolishing the tax on excessive wage increases [popiwek], in conjunction with introducing managerial contracts, as well as joint contracts.

The parties regard it as possible to also agree upon other mechanisms for imposing property taxes, as well as preventing uncontrolled wage increases. These other mechanisms entail:

—widening investment tax benefits to cover individuals;

—application of fiscal support (investment benefits, increased allowance for depreciation, retaining the dividend for investment purposes or a faster return of VAT and customs payments) with regard to pro-export investments;

—a correction of the tax scale with regard to individual income taxes, which would be on the one hand about establishing another tax rate (of 50 percent) with the simultaneous introduction of investment benefits, and on the other hand—about decreasing the tax burden imposed on people with particularly low incomes;

—extending the possibility of joint taxation of income in incomplete [niepelne] families;

—limiting tax benefits in connection with educating children in nonpublic schools.

5. Agriculture

It was agreed that the state will actively participate in stabilizing the food and agricultural market, in particular by:

—applying intervention prices and intervention reserves through the Agricultural Market Agency [Agencja Rynku Rolnego];

—establishing minimum prices on bread grain, milk, and pigs for slaughter;

—introducing a system of complementary payments with regard to some selected food and agricultural products, while using the experience of the EC in this regard;

—subsidizing credits for purchasing agricultural products;

—supporting market institutions as well as social and professional organizations for farmers (auctions, agricultural chambers, branch associations, rural cooperative movements, etc.)

Financial means for supporting agriculture shall be secured, including means for: activating preferential credits for investments in the infrastructure, for biological progress, modernization of farms, and for the storage of food and agricultural products. The need to increase financial means for these goals in 1994 was acknowledged.

6. Retirement and Other Kinds of Pensions

The following was agreed upon, among others:

—gradual increases in the rate of valorization of retirement pensions and other kinds of pensions. The parties shall undertake efforts to increase the rate to 93 percent in 1994;

—abolition of wage limits for senior citizens and pensioners who have reached the age of 65 (males) and 60 (females).

7. The Budget Sector

It was agreed upon that a wage increase should be conducted in the budget sector in December 1993, excluding the state administration, and those wages which are determined using indicators [not further specified].

In 1994, an improvement of the wage ratio in the budget sector to wages in private enterprise should be secured. The parties are undertaking efforts for the ratio to be at least in the range of 90 percent in 1994.

It was decided that:

—the mandatory transfer of education and health care to local self-governments, shall be halted, and the principle shall be adopted of optional transfer of the above-mentioned units to those self-governments which have the appropriate means and the will to do that;

—debt remission will be conducted for educational units and for hospitals, following an assessment of the reasons for the debt, and of the debt's nature, is conducted;

—an appropriate situation for promoting Polish books will be created, as well as for the proper functioning of the printing industry, through an appropriate policy on taxes and customs (including the extension of zero-rate VAT on books and journals).

8. The Housing Industry

Among others, measures should be initiated to introduce tax breaks for any investment activity and for any form of meeting housing needs (income tax, extending the zero-rate VAT in 1994 and 1995, maintaining long-term repayment of credits (as in the original—RZECZPOSPOLITA note).)

9. Pro-Export Policy

It was agreed upon that the following should be accomplished, among others:

—adoption of an active currency-exchange rate policy, based on the principle of a creeping exchange rate which would take into account predicted fluctuations in inflation. Radical changes of the basic exchange rate should only be applied in cases justified by an extraordinary economic situation. As a long-term goal, a market-shaped mechanism of forming the exchange rate, should be pursued. The Polish National Bank's decisions on the above-mentioned issues must be taken in advance, after taking into account opinions of the economic ministries concerned, and within a currency-exchange rate committee, which should be established;

—introduction of control and appropriate measures to secure against the excessive transfer of foreign currency abroad, outside of the banking system;

—introduction of preferences for export-oriented ventures (e.g. in terms of income tax, the VAT, credits, accelerated privatization, customs duties);

—allowing for the possibility of subsidizing the export of certain products and merchandise;

—establishing a system of extra-tariff regulations for protecting the market, in the form of introducing, among others: complementary payments, a quota-based system and contingents for imported goods, a system for making sure that phytosanitary [not further specified], veterinarian, product-quality, and certification requirements are observed.

10. Privatization With Employee Participation

The following items were agreed upon, among others:

—enabling employees of state-owned enterprises to establish employee partnerships in which the State Treasury would take part temporarily, with the option of a priority in purchasing State Treasury shares by employees, within a fixed period of time;

—support for employee partnerships in the form of reducing by half (by 75 percent in areas of high unemployment) sums of money which the partnerships are obliged to transfer to the State Treasury in the form of lease installments (employee leasing), as well as an analogous reduction in the amount of capital legally required for the said partnerships (changing the principles of financial assessments of property). This type of privatization applies to small enterprises;

—giving employees the right to acquire 15 percent of shares of State Treasury partnerships for free, with the option of a priority acquisition of an additional 5 percent from the State Treasury in a fixed time period. At the same time, associations of agricultural and food producers should acquire [similar] rights with regard to State-owned enterprises of the appropriate sectors, based on preferential principles of up to 20 percent of the shares. The following proposal needs further discussion: 10 percent of shares for free, with the option of acquiring a further portion (at preferential prices) of shares up to a total amount of 20 percent of the shares;

—a need to control the process of privatization in the banking and insurance sectors, as well as the need to establish a modern legal basis beforehand, that is to say, a law on banking, a law on insurance, an assessment of the financial state of both sectors [banking and insurance], followed by ownership-transformation procedures.

Paper Views Difficulties With Constitution

WS1510090093 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Oct 93 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Pilczynski: "Third Approach Toward the Constitution"]

[Text] The new Sejm, just as its two predecessors, will have to face the task of adopting a new constitution. Poland is one of very few, if not the only, of the East European states that has not done so yet. Many arguments in favor of adopting a new constitution can be put forward; they are, generally speaking, related to guarantees for undisturbed implementation of market and democratic reforms. This was not queried by any of the parties that ran in the elections and almost all of them spoke about the need to adopt a new constitution.

What the previous two parliaments failed to do seems quite possible this time. The Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] have a big enough majority in the National Assembly to pass a new constitution easily. They can also count on the votes of the deputies of the Union of Labor [UP]—this party submitted a bill on a new constitution jointly with PSL. The Democratic Union [UD] consistently supports the idea of adopting a new constitution.

Constitutional Proposals

PSL and SLD seem rather unanimous; the draft coalition agreement includes a proposal for completing work on a new constitution as soon as possible. Despite all this, from the political point of view, it still seems quite risky to try and adopt a new constitution for the third time.

Unfortunately, the most fundamental constitutional dilemmas were not sufficiently advertised during the election campaign. Political parties apparently decided that this would not be the best way to score election points. It seems that they forgot that the elections might decide who will have to prepare and adopt the new constitution. However, this is how the victorious parties look upon this issue, and it is difficult to say that they are wrong.

Everything indicates, therefore, that the parliament will soon resume work on the constitution. It seems that they will resume work, not start from the very beginning. Such a stand has been adopted by Jerzy Jaskiernia (SLD) and Aleksander Luczak (PSL). Similar sentiments have been expressed by Jerzy Ciemniewski (UD), who points out that this is not a routine legislative method that ends with the Sejm's term of office; the proceedings are based on a special constitutional law on methods for preparing and adopting a constitution. Therefore, the steps that have been taken so far must be looked upon as important; however, new members of the National Assembly's Constitutional Committee must be elected. As it is known,...

In the Previous Parliament

...the committee, chaired by Walerian Piotrowski of the Christian-National Union, received seven bills; they were prepared by SLD, PSL, UD, the Confederation for an Independent Poland, the president, the Center Accord [PC], and the Senate. In the present Sejm, the only group that does not have its own constitution bill is the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms. However, it is bound to back up the presidential bill. The senatorial bill, submitted by 56 senators, has become a problem—the composition of the Senate has changed. Also, PC has not found itself in the new parliament, except for Senator Alicja Grzeskowiak, who will probably defend the last two bills.

Therefore, there is no need to wait for new bills for another six months, even though some new deadline should perhaps be announced. This, however, seems to be a matter of no practical significance. In the new Sejm, there are no forces that could collect 56 votes and submit their own bill.

At any rate, the political composition of the Sejm is not in favor of the presidential system of government; rather, it may support a parliamentary-cabinet form of government (SLD, PSL-UP, UD). It may also lean toward a unicameral parliament or a fundamental change in the model of the second chamber (SLD, PSL-UP). It seems that the parliament may also favor a clear separation of church and state, as well as the inclusion of elementary social rights in the constitution.

One question, however, remains: To what extent will the parties adhere to their bills? Some politicians have expressed the opinion that preparing a constitutional bill when you are in opposition is one thing and preparing it when you are assuming power is quite another.

As far as PSL is concerned, there are opinions that since Christian parties have not entered the parliament, this party will adopt this...

Point of View

These speculations, however, were not confirmed by Aleksander Luczak, who said that his party does not envision any changes in the bill.

Jerzy Jaskiernia of SLD stresses that the bills should not be made absolute; the new constitution should be drawn up on the basis of all the seven proposals that have been submitted. Therefore, it should be a certain resultant, achieved through compromise. The resultant should nevertheless take into account the real configuration of forces in parliament.

To what extent will the parties want to cooperate in that? Aleksander Luczak of PSL says that even though there

are no fundamental differences between the bills of PSL-UP and SLD, in practice it will turn out that "the devil is in the details." The manner of forming the government, advocated by SLD in the Small Constitution, turned out to be a bad solution. PSL will place a lot of stress on the balance among the four authorities; the fourth one is supposed to be the self-government.

Jerzy Ciemniewski of UD predicts that his party will differ from SLD in the views on the relations between the executive and legislative authorities. UD clearly supports the tripartite division of powers; SLD wants the parliament to be the dominating body and the president to be entirely outside the legislative, executive, and judiciary powers. It is also critical of the SLD's idea on organizing a referendum concerning the most important constitutional solutions (what parliament, how much power for the president, relations between the state and the church, etc). Deputy Jaskiernia declares that the decisions would be binding and that the referendum might by held along with the self-government elections in the spring.

The attempt to include social rights in the constitution raised many doubts and aroused a lot of opposition. Aleksander Luczak concedes that there is no way to avoid a declarative tone, which, perhaps, should be stressed. It should also be said that these are directives concerning the policy of the state and not provisions that would entitle the people to make claims. UD has adopted a liberal stance in this area and only stressed the inviolability of the budget law and the independence of the Central Bank.

The Political Risk

...related to the attempt to adopt a new constitution results from the fact that, as one rightist politician put it, this parliament does not stand on the left pillar, but lies on the left side. Rightist parties are already raising the argument that due to their lack of representation, the parliament has no right to adopt a constitution. This, obviously, is absurd, because the elections were held on the basis of a legal Electoral Law, in which a compromise between the representation in parliament and its ability to fulfill its functions was deliberately made. The consequence of repeating such arguments may, however, be the following: The right wing, which is outside parliament, may boycott the process of shaping the political system and provoke conflicts in this area. To avert such a situation, will it be enough to legitimize the constitution bill in a referendum, to return to the open character of the constitutional committee where the experts and representatives of various circles would be able to voice their opinions? Will it suffice that the president has certain, though not sufficient, influence over the final shape of the bill? It seems that the Sejm will face a difficult task once again. Whether it performs it or not will depend not only on a lucky coincidence, but also on the determination of the deputies on the one hand, and on the readiness to reach a compromise and to think about the future on the other.

Iliescu Addresses Meeting on Romance Issues

AU1210204493 Bucharest DIMINEATA Supplement No. 91 in Romanian 10 Oct 93

[Speech by President Ion Iliescu at a consultative meeting on the Eastern Romance world held in Mamaia on 29-30 September]

[Text] I want to express thanks to all of you present here, and to congratulate the Romanian Cultural Foundation for its initiative and for organizing this meeting with the Romanians in neighboring and nearby states. This event is part of the series of events devoted to the 75th anniversary of Romania's union in 1918.

I understand that everybody has been satisfied, that it has been a successful event and an opportunity for communication among the Romanians. I think that it is our duty, a historic, spiritual, and rational duty of the Romanians to expand these relations, this constant communication with our Romanians abroad. We wish and hope that this communication will also benefit ever better relations between our states, because we are living in an area full of unrest and troubles, an area that is going through convulsions and several conflicts, including military ones. This affects the peace and stability of this zone and of the world in general, as well as the very complicated processes we have to go through in restructuring our social life, the economy, and the political activity. This is why it is very important to make efforts to achieve stability in this area; and in this respect we also hope to create a better climate for our co-nationals. Unfortunately, numerous beautiful phrases have been uttered about internationalism, but that internationalism was characterized by a certain shade and color.

We, the Romanians have always been tolerant—some people hold that, maybe, the term tolerance is not an appropriate word, because we are talking of citizens of this country and we have been open and have proved understanding toward all citizens.

Although many things are ascribed to past regimes, nevertheless, from the moment Greater Romania was achieved, Romania respected the principles of Alba Iulia, the Declaration of Alba Iulia, and ensured independent conditions for the existence and action for ethnic minorities in Romania even in difficult times—two wars—both after World War II, during the communist totalitarian regime—Ceausescu's time—and after Ceausescu. The Hungarians in Romania have always had education in their mother tongue, without any kind of restriction. Under Austrian-Hungarian occupation throughout the centuries, the Romanians did not enjoy freedom, because they were not even recognized as a nation. The feudal principles of Unio Trium Natiorum recognized the right to nationality and nation, but only for three nations: Germans, Szeklers, and Hungarians, while the Romanians were not recognized as such. The Romanians were serfs and, in conformity with feudal laws, did not have the right to citizenship or political representation in the Transylvanian Diet as such. The Corvin family did not emerged because they were Romanians, but because they were aristocrats. There were these aristocrat and Hungarianized families, but the Romanians themselves did not have such rights.

Laszlo Tokes [honorary president of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] is publishing a study in which he wants to discuss the policy of assimilation promoted by Romania toward the Hungarians. Actually, the statistics he presents in this study and its annexes prove that the Romanians have always formed the majority in Transylvania; an analysis of the demographic structure shows that the Romanians were predominant in villages. In cities, the majority population was non-Romanian and not accidentally Hungarian or German, because they were the dominating nations and the entire economic and political activity was dominated by Transylvanian towns inhabited, primarily, by these privileged nations, while the Romanians were serfs working in villages on the lands of counts. He then notes that, after the war, there was an increase in the urban population and this increase took place especially through the Romanian element; well, through what other element could this have taken place? The statistics he presents do not show any decrease in the Hungarian population in cities; it could not increase because that was not possible. Cities increased because they attracted the population from neighboring zones. And the Romanians were predominant in neighboring zones and this is why the majority population in cities is Romanian. He uses this as an argument; and this is how he explains the assimilation policy promoted by the Romanians toward the Hungarians. Thus, we have made efforts to guarantee full rights to ethnic minorities both after the December 1989 revolution and especially on the occasion of the adoption of the new Constitution.

As you see, now there was this discussion in Strasbourg about Romania's admission with full rights to the Council of Europe and there were some people who tried to teach us a lesson regarding the rights of ethnic minorities in Romania. Our Constitution stipulates that international regulations on human rights, and especially on minorities, prevail over national regulations; this is a political proclamation stating that we are ready to abide by the most advanced regulations at the international level and to adjust our laws to international ones. This is why our delegation affirmed that what is good for Europe is good for Romania. And from this point of view, we have no complexes in connection with abiding by the highest norms in this respect. I am afraid that numerous others do not have the possibility of meeting Romanian practices and norms; this is a subject that was also discussed at the Crans Montana meeting on what kind of Europe we want to build. At that time, I also had a lengthy discussion with Mrs. Lalumiere [general secretary of the Council of Europe] and I said: Mrs. Lalumiere, I want to know whether the Council of Europe is going to support the demands made by the United Nations. I believe that even those who promote them are not able to implement them in their political practice.

What would France do in such a situation if the principle of ethnic territorial autonomy as proclaimed by the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] and some political circles in Hungary were accepted? This would mean segregation according to ethnic principles, it would mean Bantustanization. Under our concrete conditions, the Hungarians are not a border population, the major part of the Hungarians, thus, their predominant presence, is in the center of Romania, in the two counties of Covasna and Harghita. Partly, these two counties enjoy autonomy, because, on the basis of our laws and territorial-administrative organization, our counties and localities are autonomous. What local authorities complain of at this point is lack of financial resources and all of them think that the state budget may help. But this is not the way things work, because our budget is poor and this is a difficult time for our country's economy and we have a budget deficit. We have to seek resources and to develop regional economic activities to constitute sources for local budgets. Our parliament has to work out a law on the tax system, that is taxes and activities that may become direct sources for the local administrative bodies. And this will expand the autonomous status of local authorities. But self-administration is one thing and another thing is local autonomy, which refers to all citizens living in the respective town or county, not on the basis of discrimination and ethnic principles that would permit the Hungarians in Covasna to have their own leadership. And what about the Romanians there?! There would be isolated islands of Romanians, who, in turn, would turn into a Bantustan within a larger Hungarian Bantustan located on Romanian territory. Where would this lead? Has this anything in common with the current European principles of all-European integration, of closeness between states, and of eliminating any discrimination? It is at variance with all these principles. Thus, we should not plead for such things. So I said: If you support such a thing—they sort of backed the Hungarians—what are you doing in France with Alsace? And if the Germans become tempted and the Germans in Alsace raise similar claims? Well, she said, such a problem is not posed in our country. Then I said: Why is this problem not posed? If you turn this into a European principle, then you will have to pose this problem.

And, as I said, a spark is enough and the whole of Europe is on fire and we do not see eye to eye any more. This is the problem. The second problem is the claim of certain Hungarian political circles to watch over the organizational and political activity of Hungarian minority organizations in other states. This is a dangerous thing, it is a form of interference in the political affairs of other states and is the practice—and this I also told Jeszenszky when he visited and he did not like it, but I did not tell him this for his displeasure—which Hitler used before World War II to organize the Fifth Column by supporting—by subversive ways—the activity of the Germans on the territory of the states he conquered. I said: "This is what you want to do with such activities? In each state, relations with its minorities are primarily a matter of the respective state. They are questions of the state's relations with its citizens and the Romanian state seems equally obliged to its majority Romanian citizens and the citizens belonging to other minorities. They are all citizens and all of them have equal rights and freedoms, and the state is duty-bound to protect their interests and the rights and freedoms achieved."

It is a question of our state's duty and we should not mix things up and turn the issue of ethnic minorities into a source of discord and tension between states, because then we will not serve the cause of these minorities nor that of our states and the relations between them. Thus, I would say that these are two fundamental principles: Relations with one's own minority and relations between the states regarding the respective minorities. It is another matter for states to discuss existing experiences in one or another state and to facilitate things by creating a favorable climate, like everywhere; the way we grant full rights and freedoms to the minorities in Romania, so the Romanians in other neighboring states should enjoy such rights; these should be elements of reciprocity. This depends on the political climate of relations between our states and we have to promote such a climate.

As for the fate of the Romanians living on the territory of other states today, to raise certain problems in a noisy and bitter way will not benefit us; and some people accuse me, without understanding what is at stake and without thinking of the consequences. There is a historic, continental, and European reality and there are international treaties—the Helsinki Accord and the Paris Charter—and no one will back any of our territorial claims, just as we will not want to discuss the border with Hungary. The basic principle in European and international relations is non-modification of current borders and the observance of the integrity of states, the way they are. There are historic injustices in Europe today.

What should the Germans say about Koenigsberg? That is where Kant is buried, that was the heart of Prussia, it is Kaliningrad, a Russian region, now separated from Russia by the Baltic countries and Belarus. But the Germans do not raise this question and do not turn it into a dispute with Russia. The Germans have dealt with it in a wise way and have left things to get solved by themselves, including the union with the former GDR [German Democratic Republic]. From this point of view, the Romanians have survived in this part of Europe because they were flexible, wise, and knew how to adjust to historic circumstances. We should not amplify hostile attitudes, we have enough friends in the world, closer and more distant ones, and even within our country. We have no interest in amplifying such hostile relations with our neighbors and have to deal with all these problems with political wisdom and realism; first and foremost, we should create a climate of good neighborliness and understanding to permit us to have normal relations with the Romanians who are living on the territories of those states. These, I think, are a few essential principles, which all of us have to take into consideration in everything we do, say, or undertake.

On the other hand, I want to greet you with pleasure and warmth; many of you are here for the first time, others have been here several times in the past years and it is a positive thing to make common efforts to multiply such opportunities, such contacts, so that you may come more often to see our country. Grigore Vieru [Moldovan poet] said a beautiful thing—among the measures we have taken to develop our relations with Moldova, we have offered scholarship to children, pupils, and students; there are some 3,000 students with scholarships in Romania today, who are studying in Romanian schools—so, he said that this is the greatest investment Romania has made, namely to have children come to study in Romania, to learn Romanian; I am not talking only of the language, but learning to think in Romanian, to be molded in Romanian schools, to become acquainted with our history, the history of our people, of our culture, and to acquire Romanian culture and become guiding beacons for populations, for simple people in our countries, which went through an alienation process for a long period of time. Along this line, we have to continue to make efforts to have an increasingly larger number of children, of young people from all countries, from among the groups of Romanians, study here because this is a long-term investment of capital that we should know how to use.

At the same time, we have to establish more active contacts. When I visited Bessarabia, that is Chisinau, I noted that there were no Romanian books in the libraries of the Republic of Moldova—neither in Chisinau nor in villages; thus, we have to intensify direct relations between our communities, between city halls, schools, and various institutions; book donations have to be made to libraries, schools, and libraries in localities, so that a great number of Romanian books penetrate that country.

I noted that this meeting has also discussed issues linked to the activity of our radio station; there were discussions on how to improve our radio broadcasts so that they may reach all these areas. Thus, on the one hand, we have to make better use of the Iasi radio station, then we have to see what other areas need new radio stations and maybe television in peripheral areas.

Our press also has trouble in our country. I understand that its dissemination is difficult. Together with the Foundation, the Ministry of Culture, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs we have to see what facilities we have to promote in order to make it easier for people to have contact with our general, political, cultural press, and so forth.

I hope that this meeting was a good opportunity to raise such issues in order to help us achieve better relations, that is to create a better climate and a more organized framework of contacts, for relation with our Romanians in all neighboring countries.

I want to congratulate you for this undertaking and to express thanks for your presence here; let us mutually wish each other increasingly better things.

Popescu, Albanian Minister Discuss Relations

AU1410200093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1426 GMT 14 Oct 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 14/10/1993—"We have to intensify the traditional ties between the Romanian and the Albanian peoples and we think there are good prospects in this respect," Rexhep Uka, Albanian public administration minister without portfolio, told the press Thursday, October 14, after an interview with Romanian Minister of Labour and Social Protection Dan Mircea Popescu.

The guest mentioned that he had reviewed with his Romanian host aspects of the transition to a market economy the two countries have to face. They agreed that the local administration had an important role to play in the reform Romania and Albania had embarked on.

The visit was "fruitful" and Albania was willing to boost its links with Romania, the economic ones in particular, said Rexhep Uka.

PD Leader Roman Proposes 'Anti-Crisis' Coalition

AU1210120693 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 6 Oct 93 p 5

[Interview with Petre Roman, PD (FSN) president, by an unidentified BBC reporter; place and date not given: "Change of Equation in the Government Formula"]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. Petre Roman, in your position as president of the PD (FSN) [Democratic Party (National Salvation Front)], you appealed to the reformist political forces and to politicians who have "nostalgia and older reflexes" to lend a helping hand and do something together, that is, to create the conditions for reviving the economy. In other words, you have again launched an appeal for a broader coalition. In concrete terms, whom were you referring to, apart from the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR]?

[Roman] In fact, this means first of all a serious discussion—this time without the wish to gain power before talking about what we have to do, as happened last October—with at least a part of those who form the majority party, that is, the current PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania], in order to establish this coalition, which I call an anti-crisis coalition.

[Reporter] Don't you believe that this proposal will create suspicion among your comrades in the CDR?

[Roman] I do not believe so, or I hope not, because, as far as our cooperation with the CDR is concerned, things are very clear. As you recall, we discussed and established together the idea of a governing pact; since then, we have held some talks about the need to overcome this moment of crisis through political effort, and this includes two variants: either early elections, something that presents a great many uncertainties, doubts, and questions marks associated with our country's rather

faded political image; or, simply starting from the current parliamentary situation, we should try to find solutions for a way of governing—if you like, a way of governing that is able to pull the country out of the current crisis. I believe that this possibility should not be against somebody, but for something. Here is the change of equation that I suggest.

[Reporter] Do you believe there is much chance that the ruling party—after all the dispute started in April 1992 with the former FSN [National Salvation Front]—is prepared to accept your offer?

[Roman] I do not know whether they are prepared to or not, but what I do know is that we are democrats and this is the message that we receive from people; and if this is what we need today in our country, then they should assume responsibility for accepting it, just as they must also assume responsibility for refusing it.

[Reporter] Some political analysts say that if you, in fact, look at the opinion polls, the PD is currently in a great decline and that is why it is trying to come closer to former colleagues in the PDSR.

[Roman] Personally I am not aware of the decline you refer to. On the contrary, there are certain polls that have been a little more objective than that misleading result of the so-called GALLUP poll—perhaps in the meantime you have realized that the team in question had no connection at all with the GALLUP institute and no credibility whatever in this respect.

We do not have this feeling and have no information that would suggest that the PD is in a process of decline. As a matter of fact, if we were to examine the actions of the PD, the actions of the team that represents the PD, and the results that have been obtained, I believe that there is no reason to present such an image. Therefore, the idea that we reach out to others in order to save ourselves is wrong. We reach out, if you wish, not by stretching our hands but we are simply opening, or trying to open a road. And do not forget that we have not done it individually, separate from our cooperation with the CD, and we do not even intend to do that. Let us not forget that for us our cooperation with the CD represents a guarantee for what we call reform and democracy. In this situation I believe that any idea about certain changes of the PD (FSN) lacks foundation.

[Reporter] Finally, a practical question: the ruling party—at least this is how it looks according to certain opinions—is trying to put pressure on you regarding the headquarters in Modrogan Street.

[Roman] This is a last minute issue. We have received a certain notification regarding our headquarters in Modrogan Street. If it had a certain legal foundation, I would call it simply ridiculous. Thus, in terms of a contract and from a legal point of view, such a notification is illegal and is unfounded. In other words it seems to be indeed what you said, pressure. But we continue to believe that justice will have its word if we get to court.

PL '93 Leader Examines Liberal Movement

AU1210115893 Bucharest EXPRES MAGAZIN in Romanian 29 Sep-6 Oct 93 p 9

[Interview with Dinu Patriciu, leader of the Liberal Party '93, by Ileana Lucaciu; place and date not given: "We Have To Eliminate Chaos"]

[Text] [Lucaciu] The National Liberal Party-Young Wing [PNL-AT] was established on 4 July 1990, through the withdrawal of your group from the National Liberal Party. What was the cause for this split?

[Patriciu] In a paradoxical way, at that time there was no step taken toward a split, but on the contrary, toward the unification of the liberal movement on the basis of a new doctrine, connected with the current realities prevailing in Romania. Liberalism is not the same as it used to be half a century or one century ago. The current liberalism is completely different, especially in Romania's present condition. Then, on 4 July 1990, we started the process of unification around a contemporary liberal doctrine. This process has continued for the past three years. The PNL-AT united with the National Liberal Christian Democratic Party [PNL-CD], although a small part remained dissociated after that unification. Then, the PNL-AT united with the group for moral and political reform of the PAC [Civic Alliance Party]. Currently, the Liberal Party '93 [PL '93] makes up the foundation of the liberal movement. You remember that I said at that time that this is the beginning of a long process that will last four to six years. Moreover, I stressed that this is the beginning of a creative process that will define the liberal doctrine.

[Lucaciu] Thus, let us specify: your withdrawal from the PNL was connected with the issue of a doctrine?

[Patriciu] Yes, it was. And please let me briefly present our doctrine. The structure of our liberal doctrine is based on the truth that natural human rights existed before the establishment of the state. The state is nothing other than a social corps to which the citizens delegate a part of their rights and obligations in order to balance the game of competition. It is often said that this definition belongs to a wild liberal. This is not true. Von Hayek demonstrated that liberty and the market economy are two inter-related concepts. There is no liberty without a market economy and vice versa. I have often said that we are supporters of classic liberalism. I maintain this statement today. As a matter of fact, we are talking here about a metaphor. Why? Because by emerging from communism, we are in fact emerging from a form of feudalism. As classic liberalism pushed the world toward the destruction of the rigid structures of feudalism, today liberalism is the only doctrine on which we can rely to destroy the rigid communist structures. Returning to the economic side of our doctrine, we stress that it is based on ownership. Before the war [Word War II], ownership was very well distributed in Romania throughout the social structure. The Liberal Party can be only the representative of the lower middle classes, of entrepreneurs, of artisans, and of people who will make up the

middle class. Democracy is based on the middle class. The goal of our party is to reestablish this class in present-day Romania. One should stimulate creativity, individualism, and the enterprising spirit that are specific to every Romanian. All these have been eclipsed for 45 years by communism, a period in which absolutely opposite defects developed in the social structure, such as suspicion, seclusion from society, and inability to assume responsibility. All these defects should be eradicated. They can be eradicated through a liberal policy based on the concept of the minimal state [stat minimal]. I am talking about a society in which the fair-play of competition is established. The state has only the role of referee. In the process of our economic transformation, this means to return ownership, encourage privatization, and first and foremost, establish small and middle-size enterprises, based on people's managerial capabilities. This can be achieved only if a very lax fiscal policy is applied, with very low taxes, and with uniform and very low custom fees. Likewise, a policy of rapid privatization is necessary, through sales of assets on long-term credits, and in rural areas it is necessary to restore the 30 percent of the labor force currently employed in the urban area, which today form the mass of commuters. Likewise, it is necessary to redistribute in the provinces an industry that used to be hyper-centralized. The totality of this social and economic policy is currently the structure of our liberal doctrine. There is a danger, however, that the liberal movement is crumbling. The new financial oligarchy felt the need for a political representation. And this can be only a liberal one.

[Lucaciu] Let us return to the liberal movement. In 1992 a split occurred also in the PNL-AT, when the New Liberal Party [NPL] withdrew from it. Is the new financial oligarchy one of the reasons for the establishment of the NPL?

[Patriciu] It is one of the reasons for the establishment of the NPL. Likewise, it is the reason for the current internal struggle within the PNL. One should mention that there are significant differences between the liberalism of a party that is the political representative of an oligarchy, which is tending to become a monopolist oligarchy, and the liberal policy promoted by a party that wishes the establishment of the middle class.

[Lucaciu] However, let us not forget that, at one point, this NPL united with the PNL. How do you explain this unification?

[Patriciu] Their union took place because, within the PNL, there used to be and still is a tendency toward political representation of a financial oligarchy. The respective conflict has been moved inside the PNL.

[Lucaciu] By the way this conflict, how do you view the Putna Declaration?

[Patriciu] The Putna Declaration has a double significance. On the one hand it springs from the nostalgia of a National Liberal Party extremely similar to the one that existed before the war, and on the other, from the attempt that is present in very many of the PNL organizations—as many as there still are functioning—to reform the party from within and to bring it up to modern times. I believe that the future of the liberal movement will be determined by its active and creative part. Currently, this part does not participate in internal battles, it is minding its own business, that is, working on the solidification of the big liberal party, that this country surely needs.

[Lucaciu] How do you view the possibility of uniting the liberal movement? What would be the conditions set by the PL '93 for this unification?

[Patriciu] Let us not forget that we, Romanians, are liberals by tradition, through our way of thinking. It is not accidental that the liberal party created the modern Romania and Greater Romania. It succeeded in gathering aspirations and individual philosophy into a political current. The unification of the liberal movement will take place and it is in the full process of development. We have another problem, namely to make this nation aware of its own perennial qualities. When people are aware of the fact that any prosperous society is based on individual initiative, on the fair play of competition, and based on the aspiration of each of us—and not of society in general—toward something better, then liberals will take over the governing. As far as we are concerned, I am formally stating that we are not going to participate in any negotiations regarding unification. I do not believe that any results can be reached through negotiations among people, negotiations that have only the task to establish the position of various persons in a certain hierarchy. The great liberal party that we are talking about is being established now, under our own eyes, by concentrating people's aspirations toward an increasingly better life. The political representation of a current of opinion in a certain society is a growing, organic process to the extent to which the respective ideas manage to win over as many people as possible. This is a process that is taking place everywhere in our country and through this process the unification of the liberals will be accomplished. I can see what is happening in our country. I get in touch with entrepreneurs, with people who think alike, and who feel that only through a radical change can we achieve prosperity. Their number is continuously increasing....

[Lucaciu] The PL '93 is part of the Democratic Convention. Some analysts affirm that the PNTCD [National Peasant Christian Democratic Party] is the real authority within the Convention. How do you view this affirmation?

[Patriciu] The Democratic Convention will survive and will stay strong through the close ties, which still have to be cemented, between the PL '93 and the PNTCD. The moment still has not come when the liberals and the peasant party members would be in a state of conflict like the one that dominated political life before the war. That moment will also come, but not now. And not very soon. For the time being we have to eliminate chaos. Everything in the political life outside the democratic

spectrum, and which is in opposition today, is only chaos. This chaos discredits parliamentary and political life in general. Unfortunately, we are facing a moment when the term "political" is already discredited for the majority of the population. People no longer believe in the political decision. The have seen in parliamentary life a sort of dull bickering, from which no decision emerges. This is a sort of quarrel without any significance. This image can be eliminated only by a young party, which can demonstrate that it has a doctrine, a program, and mainly, it has concrete solutions.

[Lucaciu] How do you view the role of the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] in the Democratic Convention?

[Patriciu] Currently it is much easier to keep the UDMR inside the democratic sphere by integrating it in the democratic movement than by rejecting it. I am also convinced that in the long run the UDMR cannot survive and should not survive in this formula of ethnic political party. I believe that factions that are based on clear ideologies within the UDMR should join Romanian parties. The UDMR could perhaps stay as a structure of a cultural nature, which should represent the Hungarian ethnic minority.

[Lucaciu] Right after the last fall elections, Ion Iliescu launched the proposal for the establishment of a national unity government. This proposal has become a current issue. Would you participate in a national unity government?

[Patriciu] First of all, there is the question whether such a government of national unity is actually necessary. I believe such a solution would not be desirable. Unfortunately, the nostalgia of unity is still in the mentality of many Romanians. This unity can and should occur only on major issues of national interest: defending the sovereignty and integrity of the country, and, in the long run, the defense of the country's external interests. These are the goals in each democratic country, above political confrontations. As far as solutions for governing are concerned, there is no unique solution for pulling the country out of crisis and implementing the reform. There are alternative solutions. People should be given the possibility to choose for themselves. A national unity government is born already dismembered. It can have no solutions because no solution can be born from compromise. The goal toward which we are progressing is a modern capitalism, accepted by everybody. A major part of the left-wing movement in this country wishes, however, a hybrid between socialism and capitalism. Let us not forget the difference of one syllable between "social democracy" and "socialist democracy." In the case of a national unity government, there is agreement neither on the goal to reach, nor on the means to be used. We believe that a rapid transition means less suffering and we totally reject the gradualism that leads to inflation and poverty, as we have been able to see in the past three years. This is precisely what our political adversaries do not wish! Thus, we can have no compromise. In conclusion, in no way will we participate in a national unity government.

[Lucaciu] There is also the alternative of early elections requested by many people. Do you believe it is possible to have early elections?

[Patriciu] You ask me to give the opinion of an analyst. Currently early elections would lead to an increase of the extreme left-wing electorate, to the detriment of the FDSN [Democratic National Salvation Front, former Social Democracy Party of Romania—PDSR]. This party will remain a mixture between an ostrich and a camel, which lacks ideological consistence. The current opposition, first of all of the Democratic Convention, would also benefit from it. Thus, the political spectrum would become more radical. This could lead to a parliament in which two currents would confront each other, starting from absolutely irreconcilable positions. We agree with early elections and can always participate in early elections. But I am not convinced that there is no other solution. Another solution would be to ease the tension in political life. We need to reach a common decision: an open dialogue by preserving our position but with the possibility of communication. I have often said that in the corridor that runs in the middle of the parliament there is a wall of disagreement. We need to communicate in order to find solutions to the major problems confronting our country. First of all, the most important step is to return properties, the way it has been done in the Czech Republic and Albania. On this issue our adversaries should accept a compromise with us. If not, there will be a complete separation. Property is only one of the problems that we have to solve through dialogue. The other issue would be privatization and its goals. Do we wish a country in which small scale production should develop and decentralize the production in provinces? Or do we wish to have a country in which we try to make the existing facilities work? I believe that the second solution is absolutely utopia. We have to discuss this problem, too. If our adversaries do not accept dialogue, early elections will take place and we will witness the radicalization of the electorate.

[Lucaciu] You are the leader of a liberal movement. But there is also Radu Campeanu. He is the PNL leader. What do you think his qualities are and what are his faults?

[Patriciu] Lately I have tried to refuse to make any commentaries on the history of the liberal movement in the past three years. This is the way in which I refuse to make statements about Mr. Radu Campeanu. I do not think that it is necessary to add fuel to the fire.

Parliament Issues Declaration on Tiraspol Trial

AU1410200193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1420 GMT 14 Oct 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 14/10/1993—Romania's Parliament adopted Thursday, October 14, with unanimity of vote, a declaration on the situation of five Romanian patriots imprisoned in Tiraspol.

Romania's Parliament took note with indignation of the request of the prosecutor of the pseudo-tribunal of Tiraspol, Transdniester, that three Romanian patriots—Ilie Ilascu, Andrei Ivantoc and Petrov Popa—be sentenced to death. Romania's legislative body thinks it is its duty not to stay indifferent when not far from its boundaries, an ultra-conservative self-styled state intends to put to death three people guilty only of being Romanian ethnics and anti-communists.

Romania's Parliament makes an appeal to the parliaments of all the states of the world, the Council of Europe, the United Nations and in the first place to President Yeltsin to take urgent steps to put an end to this frame-up, to be vigilant that human rights, accepted by all civilised nations, are observed.

Romania's Parliament asks that the Republic of Moldova be restored to its sovereign rights and the rule of law be re-established in this part of Europe.

Romania's Parliament asks that the five be entrusted to the legal authorities of the Republic of Moldova and the trial be moved to Chisinau.

The declaration was proposed, phrased and read out in the joint sitting of the two chambers by Senator Constantin Ticu Dumitrescu.

Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 15 October
WA1510170793

The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.

SUMMARY

Opposition leader threatens to support vote of no confidence in Milosevic-appointed government ... Bosnian Serbs propose signing of seperate peace agreements with maverick Muslim groups ... TANJUG reports rift among Muslims in Travnik; Muslims deny autonomy rumors in central Bosnian towns ... Bosnian Serb forces reportedly shell Sarajevo ... Russian envoy Churkin declares sanctions on FRY should not be connected to settlement of conflict in Croatia.

POLITICAL

SPO MAY SUPPORT NO-CONFIDENCE MOTION (Belgrade Radio): DEPOS opposition group's parliamentary leader says group's main party, Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO), will support Serbian Radical Party Seselj's motion of no confidence in Serbian Government unless Interior Minister Sokolovic resigns. SPO, with 30 votes in Serbian assembly, had previously said it would abstain because of opposition to both Serbian President Milosevic and Seselj. (AU150095593)

BOSNIAN SERBS TO PROPOSE SEPARATE PEACE (TANJUG): Bosnian Serb leader Koljevic announces Serbs will propose separate peace agreements with Muslims who have split with Bosnian President Izetbegovic, including not only western Bosnian leader Abdic's "Cazin Krajina," but also Tuzla and Zenica. (LD1410200393)

MUSLIM RIFT ALLEGED IN TRAVNIK: TANJUG claims "rifts" appearing in "Muslim ranks" in Travnik, some Muslim military leaders "seeking Serbian help to purge" town of "fundamentalist" Izetbegovic supporters. According to Sarajevo Radio, Muslim officials in Tuzla admit some "political forces supported by outside political factors" attempting to "adjoin Tuzla to greater Serbia" but predict that effort will fail , while Zenica Assembly denies existence of local split among Muslims. (AU1410172393, AU1410164693, AU1410172393)

MILITARY

SERBS REPORTEDLY SHELL SARAJEVO (AFP): UNPROFOR spokesman accuses Bosnian Serbs of shelling Sarajevo, says "risk" increasing that Serbs will "launch another offensive to capture the city." (AU1410161693)

DIPLOMATIC

CHURKIN OPPOSES LINKING SANCTIONS, CROATIA (TANJUG): Russian envoy Churkin says there is "no justification" for making a settlement of Serb-Croat conflict in Croatia a condition for lifting sanctions against FRY since sanctions were imposed in protest over Serbian involvement in Bosnian war. (LD1410203093)

Milosevic, Karadzic Urge Return to Talks

LD1410174793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1718 GMT 14 Oct 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 14 (TANJUG)—President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia and President Radovan Karadzic of the Bosnian Serb republic (S.R.) agreed on Thursday [14 October] that the Serbs from Bosnia-Herzegovina should resume the talks on peace in this war-torn ex-Yugoslav republic, having assessed that the Moslem leaders had not been backed up by their people when they rejected the peace plan.

The peace plan for Bosnia, made within the international conference on ex-Yugoslavia has failed when Moslems rejected to agree to a transformation of the republic into a union of ethnic states of the three warring nations—Serbs, Croats and Moslems, without any additional concessions.

Before the Moslems rejected the plan, the Serbs and Croats gave the Moslems territorial concessions and later withdrew them.

Milosevic and Karadzic pointed to: an increasingly strong demand amongst the Moslems for peace to be established, a confrontation between the people in western Bosnia and the regime in Sarajevo, and a number of protests in the central Bosnian towns of Tuzla and Zenica against the continuing war.

The two presidents assessed that the policy of war and divisions was now still pursued only by a handful of Moslem officials and by a an extremists-controlled part of the army.

They also assessed that the people and the army of the S.R. should help speed the peace process by strictly observing a ceasefire, by ensuring free passage for humanitarian convoys through the S.R. territory, and by extending all humanitarian relief to the Moslem civilians fleeing the battles and heading to the territories of the S.R. and the F.R.Y. (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia). Those sincerely wishing peace would not count on divisions amongst the Moslems, the two presidents agreed and added that, instead, their "peaceable, constructive and generous conduct would step up the peace process and enable just and lasting peace to be established."

The Bosnian Moslems as well as the Moslem states all the world over should be assured that the Serb people is not the enemy of Moslems, and that it does not blame the war on Bosnian Moslems. It does blame the war, however, on the extreme political forces that have turned the Bosnian Moslems into a tragic instrument of a fratricidal war—it is said in an announcement issued after the Milosevic-Karadzic talks.

The participants in the meeting appealed to the Croat and Moslem sides to cease their war and called the Croats also to return the "peace package" to the conference table.

Serbian Leader Suggests Offer of Separate Peace

LD1410200393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1945 GMT 14 Oct 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Novi Sad, October 14 (TANJUG)—Vice-President of the Bosnian Serb republic Nikola Koljevic said on Thursday [14 October] that the republic would propose the signing of separate ceasefire agreements in the territory of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

More and more regions in Bosnia, especially those controlled by Muslims, want separate truce with Serbs, Koljevic said in a television programme broadcast in Novi Sad, the capital of Serbia's northern Province of Vojvodina.

Koljevic specified that those regions included Cazinska Krajina in the north-western part of Bosnia and the regions of Tuzla and Zenica in the northern and central parts of what has been proposed to be a Muslim state within a Bosnian union.

We will offer separate truce to the Croat side too, said Koljevic.

In his view, the signing of separate agreements would at this moment be a way of securing peace in Bosnia and resuming talks on Bosnia's future.

Although peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina was within reach when the Bosnian Serb and Croat sides accepted the proposed peace plan, the Muslim parliament recently refused to verify it. As a condition for signing it, the parliament demanded 'the return of territories seized by force.'

After the rejection of the plan, which had also been blocked on several earlier occasions by Muslim radical leader Alija Izetbegovic, some Muslim regions refused to obey the government in Sarajevo and voiced readiness to reach agreement with the Serb side on ending the bloodshed.

Bosnian Serb army sources said on Thursday that a Muslim commander in the area of Travnik (central Bosnia) had asked the Serb units in the area to assist his forces in, as he put it, clearing the area of extremists loyal to Izetbegovic.

Another Muslim officer, Kemal Gufurovic, added that most residents of Travnik opposed Izetbegovic's fundamentalist policy, which was leading the Muslim people into a catastrophe with increasing ruthlessness.

There are now more people in Bosnia who want peace than to continue war, said Koljevic.

The people should be given a chance to say their say, and they want peace, said Koljevic.

Izetbegovic's Army Reported 'in Turmoil' in Bihac

LD1410134593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1059 GMT 14 Oct 93

[Text] Petrovac, 14 October (TANJUG)—In the area of the newly-established autonomous province of western Bosnia there have been no major clashes since yesterday between supporters of Fikret Abdic and Alija Izetbegovic, local Muslim media report.

Muslim-controlled Bihac radio reports that one section of Alija Izetbegovic's delegation, headed by effendi Mustafa Ceric, continues its stay in the area in an attempt "to solve the current problems in a satisfactory way."

Yesterday, Ceric was invited onto Muslim television in Bihac. In the course of the program he invited Abdic to talks "so he can point out to him how much he has been seduced by Zagreb and Belgrade into destroying his own people." He said he believed he could "persuade Abdic to give up autonomy and return to his people as he is one of the guys just like any other Muslim in the Cazin region."

Muslim-controlled Bihac radio says that Ramiz Drekovic, the commander of the 5th Corps of the Muslim army loyal to Izetbegovic, "has lost his nerve and his trust in the local civilian authorities under his control." The radio also adds that Drekovic's army no longer has anyone to rely on and that it has not received any wages for the past four months while its "soldiers are drifting away and abandoning the front line."

According to the same source, the main mufti of the Bihac-Cazin district was elected yesterday in Bihac. This religious appointment is entrusted with effendi Hasan Makic "who had been put forward by Alija Izetbegovic himself."

While the territory controlled by Drekovic's units is in turmoil and confusion in Velika Kladusa, Abdic is turning his attention to the economy. Kladusa radio today reports that factories of the Agrokomerc [food-processing] industry have started production. The same radio says also that all facilities are protected "following Izetbegovic's announcement that they will be destroyed."

Izetbegovic Sends Envoy To Mediate With Abdic

LD1410153893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1453 GMT 14 Oct 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Petrovac, Oct 14 (TANJUG)—In the region of the newly-formed autonomous province of western Bosnia there were no major inter-Moslem conflicts over the past 24 hours during the attempts of effendi Mustafa Ceric, envoy of radical Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic, to convince his opponent Fikret Abdic to give up the region's autonomy.

Local Moslem media report on Thursday [14 October], that on Wednesday evening Ceric had told local Moslem television in Bihac about his belief that he can convince abdic to "give up autonomy and return to his Moslem people."

Abdic, a moderate Moslem politician urges an end to the civil war in Bosnia through negotiations with the local Serbs and Croats. He openly clashed with Izetbegovic after charging him of political terrorism and warmongering.

Abdic [words indistinct] Izetbegovic to come to Velika Kladusa for talks, but Izetbegovic persistently refused and instead has sent in the army and different mediators, including effendi Ceric (whom Izetbegovic has refused to receive).

Velika Kladusa radio, which is controlled by Abdic's supporters, on Thursday reported that the industrial complex Agrokomerc has started working and that all facilities are secure "as Izetbegovic has announced their destruction."

On Monday Abdic called the general mobolization of his supporters in response to Izetbegovic's claims that his troops would deal with the supporters of autonomy and destroy Abdic's stronghold, Velika Kladusa.

Muslim Infighting Reported in Central Bosnia

LD1410171093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1342 GMT 14 Oct 93

[Excerpts] Banja Luka, Oct 14 (TANJUG)—Rifts are appearing in Muslim ranks in Travnik, a Muslim enclave in central Bosnia, with the gap widening between increasingly vociferous supporters and opponents of Muslim strongman Alija Izetbegovic, Bosnian Serb army sources inform.

The army's Command in Banja Luka said on Thursday [14 October] that the commander of the Muslim battalion which controls Vlasic-Grad (formerly Turbe), near Travnik, Kemal Gufurovic, had had several contacts with the military and civilian authorities of the Bosnian Serb republic seeking Serb help to purge the Travnik area of what he described as the extreme element.

The source quoted the commander as saying that most citizens of Travnik were against the fundamentalist policy of hard liner Izetbegovic, who is pushing the people into a catastrophe with increasing ruthlessness. [passage omitted]

The Serb command said that the mayor of the Serb town of Vlasic-Grad, Marinko Radisic, had made it clear to

Gufurovic at one of their [word indistinct] meetings that Serb forces woould not interfere in the Muslim conflict.

Radisic asked the Muslims not to provoke the Serb army, the source said. [passage omitted]

Tuzla SDA Stresses Loyalty to Izetbegovic

AU1410164693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Oct 93

[Report by Salih Brkic from Tuzla]

[Text] Although there have been people and political forces supported by outside political factors and mass media in Tuzla that wished to adjoin the Tuzla district [words indistinct] to greater Serbia since earlier, [words indistinct] political (?awareness) of the Muslim people (?reflected) in the activities of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] is a solid barrier to the realization of such plans.

This is a message contained in today's statement for the public by the SDA regional committee for northeastern Bosnia. At the same time, the SDA regional committee in Tuzla believes that this does not represent disinformation accidentally disseminated by some media, but an attempt to instigate a situation that would repeat the experience of the western Bosnia, [words indistinct] take away the legitimacy of Mr. Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and also the representative of the Muslim people in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

This is a blatant attempt to (?disintegrate) the territory envisaged by the Geneva peace package for Bosnia as a [word indistinct] state community, and [words indistinct] all conditions for the survival of the Muslim people as a political factor on this territory. (?The strength) and the influence of the SDA in Tuzla and the district and the unity of the Muslim people, which have been demonstrated at the pan-Muslim convention in Tuzla, are a guarantee that Tuzla and the Tuzla region will stay forever within the united Bosnia-Herzegovina, is written in a statement of the SDA regional committee for northeastern Bosnia.

Zenica Assembly Denies Autonomy Rumors

AU1410172393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Oct 93

[Report by Ida Kulenovic from Zenica]

[Text] A session of the Zenica regional assembly has been held today at which the mandates of the following new councillors have been endorsed: [name indistinct] and Zoran Markovic from Zenica and [name indistinct] from Zavidovici. [name indistinct] has been elected the new assembly chairman.

The councillors upheld the decisions passed by the [Bosnia-Herzegovina] Presidency in the sphere of finances, payments operations, customs duties, and misdemeanors. They also decided to form a center and an institute for the investigation of war crimes, crimes against humanity, and crimes against international laws [word indistinct] with the headquarters in [word indistinct] as well as to form [word indistinct] pedagogical institute.

A statement for the public has been issued at today's session regarding disinformation that has recently been launched by the media of the so-called republic of Srpska, [word indistinct] and Zagreb papers about the alleged proclamation of autonomy in central Bosnia analogous to the similar events in Cazin Krajina.

The statement reiterates that the organs of the Zenica district, as well as the communal organs on this territory, fully support the legal situation and [word indistinct] of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina as an internationally recognized country, in their efforts to end the war and restore peace in the Republic.

For this reason such disinformation is being characterized as a form of special warfare whose aim is to destabilize the free territories of the Republic and the stability of [words indistinct] legal organs of power. [Words indistinct] stand firmly on the positions and conclusions of the Bosniak Convention and the Republican Assembly.

We are not thinking at all of any sort of autonomy, the statement says. We would like to help lift the blockade of the free territories of Zepce and Zavidovici, and the town of Mostar, and in creation of [words indistinct] that will be controlled by the legal central authorities of the Republic.

For this reason the councillors of the Zenica regional assembly recommend to the citizens living on all free territories to persevere in the struggle for independent, free, and sovereign Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Croats, Muslims Agree on POW Exchange Cease-Fire

LD1510113493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 15 Oct 93

[Text] The Muslim army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] agreed a cease-fire to take place between 1600 and 1900 today in order to exchange prisoners, the press service of the HVO Travnik Brigade has announced.

HBNA [Herceg-Bosna News Agency] reports that a convoy of Croats from Konjic arrived in Medjugorje today. There are 421 civilians in the convoy which arrived in Medjugorje via Nevesinje. The Croats will continue their journey to Livno.

HVO Rejects ICRC Proposal on Prisoner Exchange

LD1410151993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Oct 93

[Text] Berislav Pusic, head of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] office for exchange of prisoners, has sent a letter to Mate Granic, Croatian minister for foreign affairs. In the letter Pusic informs Granic about his talks with Claudio Baranzini, the head of the International Committe of the Red Cross [ICRC] in Medjugorje.

The HVO does not accept the ICRC's suggestion that the HVO should release 750 Muslim prisoners from Gabela in exchange for 314 Croats from Konjic, excluding Croatian prisoners from the wider area of Konjic and Jablanica and from the Razovic camp near Konjic. Pusic also insists that the beginning of the exchange must be conditional upon a list being handed over of all Croats held in Muslim captivity.

Pusic reminds Minister Granic that the ICRC has not visited the Muslim prisons in [word indistinct] near Konjic, Tarcin, Kakanj, Gornji Vakuf, Tesanj, and Zenica. It also has no list of about 200 soldiers taken from the Bugojno prison to Zenica. The ICRC has also failed to list 240 civilians from the village of Doljani near Jablanica. They were driven away in the wake of the massacre in this village.

Serbs Concentrate Around Sarajevo

AU1410115593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 14 Oct 93

[Text] The situation in Sarajevo has again been very tense this morning, particularly following the Serb shelling of some parts of the city, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] spokesman Bill Aikman at the regular news conference.

There has been some small arms fire from the positions of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army on parts of Vogosca under the aggressor's control, and the Serb side, according to Aikman, retaliated with all the weapons they have against the city.

The UNPROFOR observers have registered a considerable concentration of the aggressor's troops around Sarajevo, which makes the situation in the capital even tenser. Every day we lodge a protest with Pale, saying that this is unacceptable, Aikman said. He added, however, that the aggressor was continuing to concentrate his troops around the city.

Aikman said that 94 shells were fired at the city yesterday, mostly at Zuc, Kobilja Glava, (?Grdanj), and Colina Kapa. The sniper fire is becoming increasingly intensive, and four UNPROFOR vehicles have been shot over the last 36 hours. One [word indistinct] soldier was wounded by sniper yesterday.

Serbs Pound Sarajevo; Aid Convoys Turned Back

AU1410161693 Paris AFP in English 1554 GMT 14 Oct 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Oct 14 (AFP)—Serb forces pounded Sarajevo with artillery fire Thursday [14 October], as two aid convoys gave up trying to get through to Moslem enclaves in northern Bosnia, UN spokesmen said.

The Serb bombardment followed an infantry attack by Moslem-led government forces against the northwest Vogosca industrial area early Thursday, UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Bill Aikman said.

One hour later the Serbs besieging the city opened fire with all their guns, Aikman said, adding that the situation in Sarajevo was "dramatic."

The shelling wounded three people, two seriously, and sniper fire wounded another three, spokesmen for the city's Kosevo and French hospitals said.

Aikman said there was a risk that the Serbs would launch another offensive to capture the city as their attacks had clearly increased this week.

In Belgrade, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said the war was continuing only at the wish of "part of the Moslem leadership" and extremists in the Bosnian Army, TANJUG reported.

The two leaders urged the Bosnian Government to look again at the peace plan drafted by the Geneva conference mediators Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, the news agency said.

Milosevic and Karadzic agreed at their meeting that the Bosnian rejection of the plan—which was voted by the Bosnian parliament—did not accord with the feelings of the Bosnian people, the agency reported.

Meanwhile, two UN aid convoys held up for four days by Bosnian Serbs in northern Bosnia headed back to Zagreb Thursday, having failed to get through to the besieged Moslem enclaves of Maglaj and Tesanj.

"The 24 trucks are returning to Zagreb fully loaded," said UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spokesman Ron Redmond in Geneva.

"We were unable to get securities and guarantees, in spite of promises—in particular a Bosnian Serb escort," Redmond said.

He added that a new attempt to reach the two enclaves would be made next Wednesday or Thursday. Some 103,000 Moslems in Tesanj and 40,000 in Maglaj are threatened by starvation, having received only air drops of food since June.

Turning to the rest of Bosnia, Aikman said the military picture was "generally stable, but not calm."

In central Bosnia, government forces maintained their pressure on the Croat militia in Vitez on Wednesday, while Croat artillery shelled the Bosnian Army position in a factory at Gornji Vakuf.

The Moslem-dominated forces also clashed with the Croats in the southern city of Mostar, and with the Serbs at Olovo—a town north of Sarajevo, Aikman said.

In a related development the UNPROFOR commander, General Francis Briquemont, has ordered the UN Spanish battalion to send engineers to the Bijela bridge on the southern Neretva River Friday.

The bridge was partially destroyed recently and needs to be repaired to ensure the flow of aid to Mostar during winter.

Meanwhile in Geneva, the Bosnian anti-war movement Mirna Bosna said a humanitarian convoy of the Workers Aid International movement destined for Tuzla, northern Bosnia, was held up at Zupanja on the Sava river which separates Croatia from Bosnia.

On its way to Croatia the convoy, which left Dundee, Scotland in August, had received trucks full of aid from Sweden, Denmark, Hungary and Slovakia, a Mirna Bosna statement said.

The Croatian Foreign Ministry would not give a reason for the stoppage, it added.

Convoy members warned late Wednesday they would resort to "direct action" if police continued to block the transport. They did not elaborate.

Croatia's largest trade union, the Union of Autonomous Trade Unions, supported the relief group.

New Serbian Demands Force Halt to Evacuations

AU1510073693 Paris AFP in English 2234 GMT 14 Oct 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Oct 14 (AFP)—An operation to fly out sick and wounded patients from Sarajevo, which was to resume Thursday [14 October] after a lapse of nearly a week, was called off as Bosnian Serb officials imposed new conditions for the evacuation, the coordinating medical officer told AFP.

Dr. Genevieve Begkoyian said Bosnian Serb authorities had insisted on being given a list of all patients to be evacuated 48 hours in advance, a demand she described as inconsistent with the urgent nature of the evacuation operation.

Two flights, one due to take four patients to France and another to fly four more to Italy, were cancelled even as ambulances stood by to ferry the patients to the airport.

Begkoyian said it was also not certain if eight children awaiting evacuation to the United States could leave as planned.

Begkoyian added that of all these cases, two were emergencies: one a man with burns and the other a child with a brain tumour.

Altogether 127 sick and wounded peple are waiting to be evacuated from Sarajevo, for 47 of whom beds have been reserved at foreign hospitals.

Sarajevo authorities and the Bosnian Serbs on Sunday agreed to let the medical missions resume following the evacuation of a former Bosnian military police chief who had been seriously wounded.

The Bosnians had insisted he would have to be evacuated before they would let three Serb patients be flown out.

Begkoyian, who coordinates the evacuations in collaboration with the United Nations, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees and the World Health Organisation, blamed the new conditions posed by the Serbs on the "tense situation" in Sarajevo.

A spokesman for the United Nations Protection Force said Thursday there had been an upsurge over the past 48 hours in shelling and sniper attacks on the besieged city.

During the morning, Serb artillery pounded Sarajevo in apparent retaliation for a Bosnian government army attack on the industrial town of Vogosca in the north.

Three people wounded by shrapnel were admitted to hospital. Another three people were wounded by sniper fire.

Croats Shell Muslims in Gornji Vakuf, Mostar

LD1410223793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2215 GMT 14 Oct 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, October 14 (TANJUG)—Artillery of Bosnian Croats showered Thursday Gornji Vakuf and the Moslem sections of Mostar, two cities in central and southwestern Bosnia, the Moslem-controlled Sarajevo Radio reported.

It said the Croatian artillery fired over 70 devastating shells in the course of the day on the inner and outer city of Gornji Vakuf, which is under Moslem control.

The radio claimed the Croats used heavy machine guns and anti-aircraft artillery pieces to incessantly fire on all cross roads and streets of Gornji Vakuf, but solely on civilian targets.

The Croatian forces fired several score of powerful projectiles on the Moslem section of Mostar, the radio added and set out that six civilians were seriously wounded as well as two U.N. troops.

The Moslem Army Command said Thursday night there was heavy fighting with the Croatian forces in the central part of the battlefront, but that there was no change of the front line.

Also, the Croatian radio in Zagreb said Moslem artillery fire killed two and wounded two civilians during the day in the Croatian places in the Lasva River valley, central Bosnia.

The radio said Moslems were stepping up attacks also in the region of Kiseljak, Vitez and Busovaca, all central Bosnia.

The Bosnian Croatian Forces' Command, as the same source set out, reported Thursday that the Moslem authorities continued, despite the existing accord, preventing evacuation of the wounded (Croats) from the hospital at Nova bila, near Travnik, in central Bosnia.

The radio claimed that one wounded succumbed Wednesday after the medical convoy was stopped and ill-treated. The convoy, escorted by UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces], started from Nova Bila towards Kiseljak, but was forced by Moslems to return.

Eight wounded have died, two of them children, over the past six days as a result of exceptionally heavy fighting, the Croatian radio said.

HVO Reportedly Seizes UN Aid, Bombs Vitez

AU1510095693

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 15 October carries in its regular 10-minute newscast two reports on the fighting in central Bosnia. Reception is poor.

Reporting from Maglaj, Hajrudin Sermic says that "the Maglaj people spent another night in their cold and dark shelters. Several hundred destructive artillery shells randomly pounded the town's residential areas. Dozens of people have lost their homes, and three have been killed and 12 wounded over the last 24 hours. The chetnik-ustasha attacks went on until midnight. This morning is seeing heavy fire from antiaircraft machine guns directed at the town's center, while several mortars have so far landed on the outskirts. The enemy troops have been concentrating on the region of (?Turic Brdo), and (?Jelic), which shows that the aggressor does not intend to halt the attacks."

The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 3rd Corps Press Center reports on the situation within its zone of responsibility, saying that "the united aggressor [HVO and Serbian army] has intensified his attacks on some parts of the front. The chetniks have been using antiaircraft weapons, mortars, and artillery against [word indistinct], while ustasha helicopters are constantly flying into Vitez, bringing in equipment and taking away the wounded. HVO fighters have been forcibly seizing food from the humanitarian convoys escorted by UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] and the UNHCR, while also preventing their passage to the surrounded (?areas)." The report says that "the HVO has forced two UNPROFOR transporters to bring in equipment to their headquarters in Vitez." Two days ago, the report claims, "the HVO took advantage of the fact that they could fly their helicopters unhindered, and dropped one of the so-called cluster bombs of great destructive power on Vitez. The explosion could be heard as far away as Travnik, Kakanj, and Zenica." As for the Kiseljak-Fojnica front, "the ustashas have intensified their attacks on the defense lines with all the weapons that they have. They have also been using Muslim women and children as human shields in their infantry attacks." There is no peace on the Zavidovici front, either as "the united aggressor has been pounding the defense lines with mortars, artillery, and antiaircraft weapons."

Two Spanish UN Soldiers Wounded in Mostar

AU1510130693 Paris AFP in English 1246 GMT 15 Oct 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Oct 15 (AFP)—Two Spanish UN peacekeepers have been slightly wounded in heavy shelling by Bosnian Croat forces of the Moslem section of the southern Bosnian city of Mostar, a UN spokesman said Friday [15 October].

A total of 54 shells exploded Thursday in eastern Mostar, UN spokesman Bill Aikman said.

The two Spaniards have since been evacuated, the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman added.

Other than Mostar and Sarajevo, Aikman said Bosnia had been "reasonably calm" during the past 24 hourse.

On Thursday, tanks fired shots in the Dobrinja area close to Sarajevo airport and there were exchanges of small arms fire in several parts of the city.

The situation in central Bosnia was calmer, he said, although a bomb planted by Croat forces exploded early Thursday on a Moslem-controlled mountain about four kilometres (2.5 miles) south of the central town of Vitez. The mountain was captured from the Croats by Moslem forces last weekend.

HDZ Congress Opens; Tudjman, Others To Speak

LD1510095193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 15 Oct 93

[Text] The second congress of the Croatian Democratic Union [HDZ] is set to begin at 1000 today in the Vatroslav Lisinski concert hall [in Zagreb]. Party chairman Franjo Tudjman will give an introductory speech.

More than 1,800 deputies and 400 guests from Croatia and the diaspora will attend the congress. Ninety-six journalists have been accredited so far, and delegations of the Slovene Christian Democrats, the European Democratic Union, the CDU, the Austrian National Party and the Slovak Demo-Christians have confirmed their attendance.

According to an extensive agenda, the guests will give speeches of greeting and the Ivic Pasalic, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Party Presidium [sredisnjica], will submit a report on the work of the party's main body. This will be followed by a discussion of a proposed program.

The congress ends on Saturday, when a new chairman, deputy chairmen, and members of the main bodies will be elected.

RSK Wins 'Equal' Status in War Crimes Inquiry

LD1410184193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1759 GMT 14 Oct 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Knin, Oct 14 (TANJUG)—The republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) shall be treated as an equal partner in the identification of crimes committed in the war that broke out as a result of the disintegration of ex-Yugoslavia—it was agreed on Thursday by RSK Justice Minister Radomir Kuzet and Secretary of the U.N. War Crimes Commission for the former Yugoslavia Julius Baez.

The RSK was proclaimed by Serbs in predominantly Serb-populated parts of the former Croatia, replying to its secession from Yugoslavia in 1991. The Croatian authorities still regard the RSK as part of its territory, so an equal partnership now agreed is highly significant for the RSK.

An announcement issued after the Kuzet-Baez meeting said that Baez accepted a proposal by the RSK to investigate also the mass graves of Serbs in Pakracka Poljana in addition to those of Croats at Ovcara outside Vukovar. Also agreed was an aerial screening of the predominantly Serb-populated western Slavonian localities where, according to the Serb side, Croatia had dumped radioactive waste.

The announcement said that Baez guaranteed that the U.N. Commission would carry out the entire project most professionally, correctly and impartially, no matter who had committed crimes and who were the victims.

Judicial experts from the RSK would also take an equal part in the U.N. Commission's work.

At this meeting, the RSK disagreed to a proposal that the bodies of victims from Vukovar should be moved to Zagreb for identification, because among them there could be bodies of local Serbs still registered as missing.

The announcement said that Baez agreed with this stand but asked for additional time for consultations.

Delegation Head Says No Serbs Suitable for Talks

LD1510062293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 2215 GMT 14 Oct 93

[Text] The head of the Croatian delegation in charge of the negotiations with the Serbs from the occupied territories in Croatia, Slavko Degoricija, stated today that at the moment and due to the internal conflicts, there is no one on the Serbian side who could be appointed as peace negotiator with the Croats.

Mr. Degoricija stated this after the talks he had with the representative of the Conference on former Yugoslavia, Geert Ahrens. Mr. Degoricija also spoke of the attempts by UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] to play down several breaches of the UN Resolution No. 871, mentioning the incident of a few days ago when Arkan units attacked UN troops by the Danube on the border between Serbia and Croatia, and another case when some 300 Serbs troops were allowed to cross into the occupied sections of Croatia and are now active in the area.

Mr. Degoricija went on to say that not one such incident was mentioned by either Cedric Thornberry or Shannon Boyd.

Federal

Churkin: No Reason To Link Sanctions, Settlement

LD1410203093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2002 GMT 14 Oct 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 14 (TANJUG)—President Boris Yeltsin's special envoy at the conference on the former Yugoslavia Vitaliy Churkin has said there is no justification for making conditional the lifting of the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) on the settlement of the conflict between the Republic of Croatia and the republic of Serb Krajina.

In an interview to Radio Moscow Serb-language program, Churkin recalled that "according to the previously adopted U.N. documents, the sanctions were imposed on the F.R.Y. in view of Bosnia's events, and therefore it would be faulty to link them with other conflicts in the former Yugoslav federation."

The U.N. Security Council imposed in late May of 1992 strict sanctions on the F.R.Y. due to its alleged involvement in the civil war in neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina, although the F.R.Y. has no troops there.

The Geneva peace accord for Bosnia-Herzegovina has been accepted by two warring sides—Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats, and rejected by the Bosnian Moslems, who made their signature contingent on receiving more territorial concessions.

Churkin, however, said it would be premature to speak of the lifting of the sanctions against the F.R.Y., since the agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina had not been reached.

Churkin said that due to the failure to sign the peace plan (by the Bosnian Moslems) a Russian plan was not submitted to the U.N. Security Council. This plan wanted to incorporate into a draft resolution on peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina also a detailed schedule of when and in what order the sanctions against the F.R.Y. would be lifted.

Now we will probably have to approach the situation and the lifting of the sanctions in a new way, said Churkin.

I do not think our course will change, and we have simply always done what we thought to be proper and necessary. Sometimes we have pursued our course under a really strong pressure by the different forces of the opposition governments. We hope the line of the Russian Foreign Ministry has been balanced quite a lot, when the Yugoslav issues are concerned, said Churkin.

UN Commander Lodges Protest With Army Chief

LD1510062993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 14 Oct 93

[Text] General Jean Cot, the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] commander for the region of former Yugoslavia, has lodged a protest with General Momcilo Perisic, the chief of general staff of the Yugoslav Army, regarding the 9 October incident on the bridge [on the Danube, dividing Croatia and Yugoslavia] near Batina [10 kilometers south of Hungarian border, in Croatia], when 16 Serbian bodyguards forced their way across the bridge and attacked the UNPROFOR troops guarding the crossing point, the statement issued by UNPROFOR's headquarters in Zagreb says.

Three Belgian soldiers were injured in the unprovoked assault and had to be medically treated, the statement further says.

Describing the incident as disgraceful, General Cot recalled in his protest letter to General Perisic that, according to UN Security Council Resolution 769 of 7 August, it is UNPROFOR's responsibility to prevent the entry of all armed members belonging to all the warring factions into the areas under UN control. General Cot stressed that, in view of the fact that the soldiers had crossed the Batina bridge from the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, responsibility for this incident should be assumed by the chief of general staff and his subordinates. He demanded that the perpetrators of the incident be punished appropriately and that all necessary measures be taken to prevent such attacks from recurring.

Many Manufacturers Suffer Production Stoppages

AU1510114893 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Oct 93 p 7

[Report by R. Nikolic: "Productions Falls, Inflation Grows"]

[Text] Production keeps on falling, ever greater number of manufacturers are hit hard by the scarcity of raw materials, while new prices designed to keep up the high inflation have already been announced.

Such a conclusion is derived from the latest public opinion poll conducted in mid-September by the Belgrade Institute for Market Research [IZIT] in over 200 Yugoslav firms. As we are told by Tomislav Milisavljevic, manager of the market activities in the IZIT, a sort of liveliness on the market and in economy, accompanied by slight optimism, does exist among the manufacturers, but only because of expectations that the peace talks would end successfully and that the sanctions might be lifted. Somewhat boosted supply and demand were a consequence of last month's coupon overage and need for a great amount of goods.

If
one sets aside the part referring to supplying basic food requirements, all the other results of the poll concerning

industrial production indicate critical conditions in the economy. According to Milisavljevic, 73 percent of manufacturers do not have enough raw materials for production. Furthermore, 96 percent of inquired manufacturers have been hit hard by shorter or longer work stoppages, and 55 percent have ceased production for a longer time because of the lack of imported raw materials.

What is our manufacturers' forecast for the next three months, and what do they expect in the next six months?

According to the IZIT poll, the businessmen are not optimistic that the sanctions might be soon lifted, and they also do not expect a stop in the fall of production, but 76 percent of those polled expect higher prices (in the next three months), and in the next six months higher prices are expected by 85 percent of those polled. The manufacturers of raw materials and production materials [repromaterijali] are also announcing higher prices, which means that a continuing increase may be expected also in the prices of consumer goods.

As Milosavljevic says, one can deduce from these assessments that inflation will keep rising, given some monthly variations. So in October one can already expect higher inflation rate than in September, and not only because of the price increases for many goods that occurred in the last week of September, but also because of the statistic methodology of price scanning that has happened to hit upon dates of great rises in prices of consumer goods.

Serbia

DEPOS Leader Threatens To Support No-Confidence Vote

AU1510095593 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 15 Oct 93

[Report by Zoran Vaskovic]

[Text] By all accounts, the assembly will conclude the confidence debate in the government today. Many citizens have sent telegrams to the assembly, asking that the debate be concluded. Chairman Zoran Arandjelovic informed the deputies of this at the end of last night's round. The citizens primarily expect tolerance and more efficient work by the assembly.

Another 30 deputies should take the floor today. When it comes to the results of the vote, things seem more uncertain. This is connected to the question of whether the deputies of the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO] will return to the session and participate in the vote. Milan Mikovic, head of the Democratic Movement of Serbia's [DEPOS] caucus, announced this possibility when he took the floor yesterday. He said that SPO deputies would vote against the government if Minister Zoran Sokolovic [Interior Minister] did not resign. This demand has been explained by the fact that three days ago, two policemen in Vozdovac beat up actress Natasa Bulatovic.

It is certain that the 30 votes of the SPO deputies could be crucial to the outcome of the voting. All together, the votes of the Radicals, the Democratic Party of Serbia, and the Democratic Party caucus would exceed the 126 needed to carry the no-confidence vote. The voting is expected to take place this afternoon. Until then, we are going to follow the progress of the debate, which should begin in about 10 minutes. And this is all for now from the assembly hall of the republic parliament.

Seselj Says Majority To Vote Against Government

AU1510104393 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Oct 93

[Text] Speaking at a regular news conference, Vojislav Seselj, chairman of the Serbian Radical Party, presented new data about some people being responsible for the attack on Krajina launched by the Croatian Army on 9 September. Here is a report by Dragoljub Stankic:

[Begin recording] [Stankic] The order to clear minefields near Medak was issued, as Seselj claims, by Colonel Milos Krneta, assistant commander of the Headquarters of the Serbian army of Krajina in charge of intelligence matters.

[Seselj] Col. Krneta issued this order to reconnaissance units that are directly subordinate to him and has done so without the knowledge or consent of the commander and Headquarters.

People are now accusing General Mile Novakovic of this because they are trying to replace him. Why are they trying to replace him? Because he bothers some people in the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army.

[Stankic] The order has come from Belgrade, from the leadership of the League of Communists—Movement for Yugoslavia who, in Seselj's opinion, have more power in the Army than even the Socialist Party of Serbia.

In Seselj's opinion, President Goran Hadzic is also taking part in the contest concerning Krajina and Hadzic should be urgently replaced (?at the Assembly meeting on Saturday). However, even if that does not happen, Hadzic will be replaced at the elections on 21 November.

Seselj says that the Serbian Government is also going to fall some time, but he failed to comment on some parties' plans to condition their vote at the Assembly on the replacement of the minister of internal affairs because the Radicals want the entire government replaced. The vote at the Assembly remains to be seen, but even if an absolute majority is not achieved, more than half of Serbian Assembly deputies are going to vote to replace the government, and that in itself is very bad for the position of the republican government, according to Seselj. [end recording]

Rail Transportation Halted Due to Oil Shortage

LD1410194893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1913 GMT 14 Oct 93

[Text] Zajecar, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—Road and rail transportation was almost completely paralysed in the territory of eastern Serbia today because of the oil shortage.

No trains were running on the Zajecar-Knjazevac and Zajecar-Prahovo lines and many workers were unable to reach their offices. The express train for Belgrade via Bor and Pozarevac was the only one in operation.

No normal rail service is expected tomorrow either. Only the morning passenger train will arrive in Zajecar from Prahovo but a two and a half hour delay in its departure has already been announced. Tomorrow's express train for Belgrade has been cancelled.

Macedonia

Albanian Consul Condemns Attack at Consulate

AU1410161293 Skopje MIC in English 14 Oct 93

[Unattributed report: "Leonida Mertiri: Act by 'Primitive Nationalists'"]

[Text] In regard to the breaking of the windows of the Albanian consular representation in Skopje during the night between 10 and 11 October, the Albanian Consul General to Skopje, Leonida Mertiri stated for the Pristina newspaper BUJKU:

"The attack against the representation of the Republic of Albania in Skopje, during which all windows were broken and the Albanian flag taken away, is an act of nationalistic primitive forces in the Republic of Macedonia. They happen not to like my statement that Macedonia will be admitted to the CSCE only after it begins to respect the rights of the Albanians living in it."

According to today's announcement by the Macedonian Interior Ministry, only one window was broken. Beside the material damage of some 1,500 Denars, there are no other damages, and the police is working on the clearing up of the case.

Gligorov Welcomes Diplomatic Ties With PRC

LD1410091893 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2100 GMT 13 Oct 93

[Text] The People's Republic of China has recognized the Republic of Macedonia under its constitutional name. As our Foreign Ministry announced today, [name indistinct], representative of the Macedonian mission at the United Nations, said that Ambassador Denko Maleski and Li Zhaoxing signed a joint statement on the establishment of diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level in New York yesterday.

Their joint statement emphasizes the resolve of both governments to develop friendly relations and cooperation in accordance with principles of mutual observance of sovereignty and integrity, noninterference in internal affairs, equality, and peaceful coexistence. In practical terms, this means that ambassadors to Beijing and Skopje may be appointed in the coming month.

In this connection, Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov made a special statement for Radio Skopje:

[Begin Gligorov recording] When I was in New York I had a meeting with the Chinese deputy premier. We discussed relations between our countries and the issue of recognizing Macedonia. As promised, they kept their word in the best way. First, they observed our constitution and recognized Macedonia under its constitutional name at the top level, at the ambassadorial level, with full diplomatic relations, with the mention that we need to preserve our independence, with emphasis on cooperation, etc.

I believe that following recognition by the Russian Federation this has been the most important step in the international affirmation of our republic, particularly because China is a big country with a large population and it is a member of the Security Council. It is pursuing a principled policy and has a special attitude toward respecting small countries and the need to cooperate with them. I think that by recognizing our constitutional name China has given direction and set an example for many other countries which, I am deeply convinced, will follow suit. [passage omitted] [end recording]